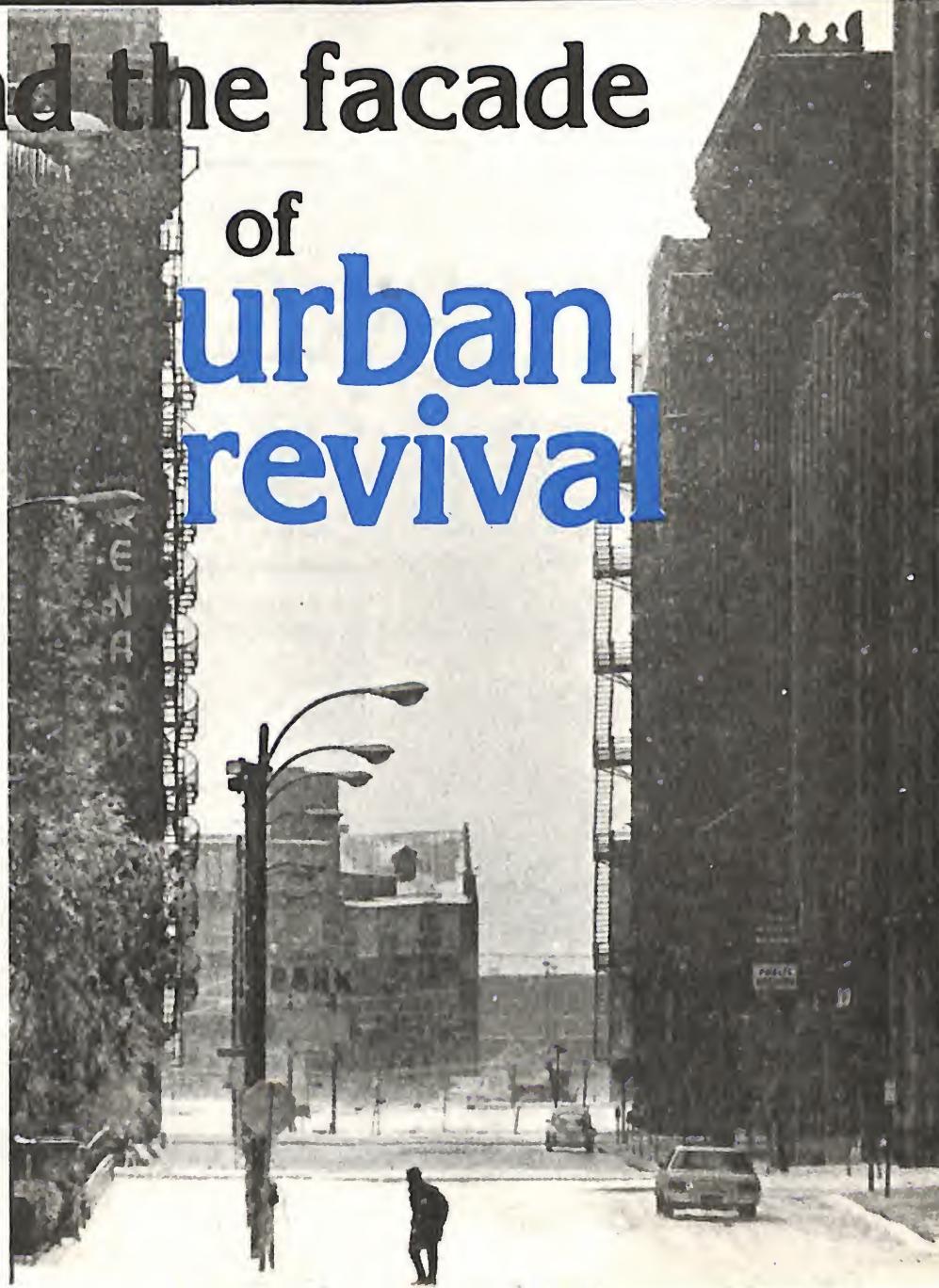


FOCUS

MIDWEST

A MAGAZINE SENSITIVE TO THE REALITIES IN OUR SOCIETY

redevelopment in St. Louis: the greatest good for the smallest number • how can St. Louis look so good and be so bad? • St. Louis on the comeback trail • Chicago's theater scene: hustling is a way of life • death of a rural village • the new Kansas City: it glitters—what else? • judging American cities: an elusive goal



beyond the facade of urban revival

out of focus

Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.

Besides program cuts and curtailments of services and a freeze on all public employee wages, Proposition 13 brought Californians admission fees to public parks, playgrounds, pools, libraries and museums. The L.A. Museum of Art instituted a \$1.50 fee, and daily attendance dropped from 1400 to 370. When one admission-free day per month was designated, attendance jumped to 1211 on that day.

Guests at the Marriott Hotel are all white, if you can tell by the cover of the services directory. It shows twelve people: two black waiters, one Chinese cook and nine smiling, recreating Caucasians.

A Missouri duck hunter on the Osage River, already twice over his limit, shot down five mallards and then accepted the help of a passer-by in collecting them. He offered some ducks to the stranger, saying he was afraid to get caught with so many. He needn't have worried; the good Samaritan was a Miller County conservation agent.

"New foundations," the phrase Carter used to describe the economic stability he hopes to effect for the nation, has been used before. It occurs in the Communist Party's anthem, *The Internationale*:

*No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
Arise, ye slaves! No more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations,
We have been naught, we shall be all.*

The increased popularity of home delivered births is reported as a health setback. Home deliveries in Missouri still account for less than one percent of all births but the number has steadily grown in the last five years. Missouri reported 580 home delivery births in 1978 compared with 241 in 1973 when the total was the lowest in 20 years. The mortality rate during the first 27 days of life is nearly twice as high for home deliveries as for hospital deliveries.

A multi-million dollar advertising campaign by Aetna Life & Casualty Company deals with product liability on insurance reforms. One Aetna ad shows a family watching a new game show called "Liability Jackpot," to persuade the public that product liability law is in great need of reform. The ads give the impression that juries have gone out of control and emphasize \$1 million jury awards. A Subcommittee of the House Small Business Committee found that the average award for bodily injury was less than \$4,000.

Before the snail darter gets all the credit for stopping construction of the 95-percent-completed TELLICO Dam in Tennessee, it should be noted that the Cabinet-level board which halted construction said its decision was largely influenced by the uneconomical use of the river and the surrounding farmland. Charles F. Schulze, chairman of the president's Council of Economic Advisors, declared: "just the cost of finishing it compared against the benefits, — — shows it doesn't pay, which says something about the original analysis."

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During the recent newspaper strike in St. Louis, the staff of FOCUS/Midwest was involved in publishing a metropolitan interim newspaper, the St. Louis Times. The editorial and production demands of the Times made it impossible to maintain a regular publication schedule. With this issue (No. 80, March-April 1979), a regular bimonthly schedule is being renewed.

As a subscriber you will receive a full quota of issues (6 for a one-year subscription, 12 for a two-year, etc.). Subscriptions are entered by issue number, not by dates. Please check the issue number on the cover to see if you have missed any issues. We appreciate your patience and cooperation.

The Publisher

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FOCUS/Midwest

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Demagogues on the march, again

Barely a season passes by in which the electorate isn't subjected to new political gimmickry. The latest cure-all is a balanced federal budget. We are told that a balanced budget would stop inflation and have salutary effects on an array of other economic ills, from insufficient economic growth to excessive taxation — you name it.

Typically, the campaign never focusses on any particular waste in government but is a broad and indiscriminate attack. The promoters have avoided citing too many specific spending proposals which would alienate one or another interest group.

Chief sponsor of this drive is the National Taxpayers Union (NTU), a private group which claims that by summer the required 34 states will have issued the call for a constitutional convention to consider a balance-the-budget amendment. Others — the Howard Jarvis types, ultra-conservatives, fly-by-night operators — have also latched onto this issue and are promoting it nationally. Its surface appeal (cutting spending) dovetails with many other tax-limiting efforts. This conservative push can count on strong public support. According to an Associated Press and NBC News poll, 70 percent of the public favors a balanced budget while only 18 percent opposes it. NTU knows what to exploit. It has grown from 20,000 members in 1976 to 100,000 today, its budget from \$1.1 million to \$2 million today.

The mounting political pressure has already caused the scheduling of hearings by both Senate and House committees. Rep. Peter W. Rodino Jr. (D., N.J.) in announcing the hearings said, "A new political wave has been sweeping across America, and it is beginning to break over Washington."

Many forget, suggests Sen. Gary Hart (D. Colo.), that a balanced budget can be easily achieved by cutting federal funds earmarked for state and local governments, now totalling \$82.9 billion, including \$2.28 billion in federal revenue sharing. State and local officials who tend to jump on popular bandwagons may want to consider this possibility.

Few economists of repute support the balance-the-budget movement. Even Milton Friedman is a critic. It is a mistake to assume that a balanced budget can curb inflation. A budget can be bal-

anced not only by reducing the deficit but also by raising taxes.

Is the size of the federal debt so important? Actually, as a percentage of total debt it has declined in every year between 1945 and 1978 except for the recession years 1975-76. From 61.7% in 1954 it dropped to 28.4% in 1979. If the size of the deficit incurred by an unbalanced budget determines inflation, prices should have dropped.

A budget is a tool, a symbolic reflection of statistics which can be arranged in many ways. The budget totals are arbitrary. If the items currently off the budget were to be included, the 1978 deficit would be \$59 billion rather than \$48 billion. On the other hand, items can be dropped from the budget without spending one cent less for them. Adopting a limitation would simply impose more budgetary subterfuges. State governments, for example, usually do not include capital expenditures in their budgets. The federal government does. Accounting for them separately would help balance the budget but would not result in any reduction in spending.

The balance-the-budget drive is an attractive strategy to increase public support, membership, and financing of various conservative groups. The NTU, for example, claims to be non-partisan. Records on file with the Federal Election Commission show that the group has funded only conservative and ultra-conservative candidates.

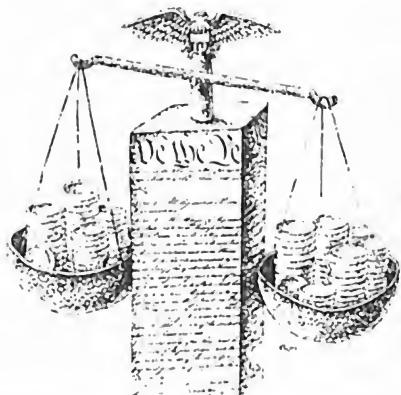
Even more chilling than the drive to boost the ultra conservative movement is the call for a constitutional convention. The call, said Rep. Varber B. Conable (R., N.Y.) amounts to playing "constitutional roulette." FOCUS/Midwest has previously discussed the inherent dangers of calling a **convention**. The implicit uncertainties are innumerable. The likelihood exists that such a convention could become a runaway and rewrite the country's fundamental laws. Good-bye Bill of Rights, First Amendment, and other safeguards. The last time a convention was called, the delegates were merely to rewrite the Articles of Confederation. Instead, they came up with a completely new document. This can happen again.

The complexity and the technical aspects will keep many from becoming involved or even informed about this campaign to balance the budget; it's too dry a subject for cocktail parties.

The complexity and the technical aspects will keep many from becoming involved or even informed about this

campaign; it's too dry a subject for cocktail parties.

The innocent supporters of this campaign must be shown that a technically balanced federal budget is a meaningless exercise. However, an actual reduction of spending may indeed affect the economic welfare. And the one budget item which has grown relentlessly is defense.



President Carter's request for \$135 billion for the military in fiscal 1980 has been made in face of the Pentagon's own estimate that it will have some \$22.4 billion in unobligated balances — funds appropriated but not yet under contract to be spent. While Carter would give no domestic program any more in fiscal 1980 than in 1979 — after allowing for inflation — the Pentagon would receive a 1.7 percent increase. Actual spending by the Pentagon would increase by an estimated 3.1 percent.

The march of the demagogues cannot be stopped. But many campfollowers may resent being used in an essentially futile campaign, while they could be directly effective by supporting cuts in defense spending. A collective effort to counteract the balance-the-budget move is overdue.

Go slow on dismantling schools

Public education officials who abandon school buildings for lack of students might do well to take note of U.S. Census Bureau projections. As 1950s-boom babies reach childbearing age themselves in the next decade, the Bureau predicts at least a "slight" increase in live births. A middle-of-the-road estimate based on a fertility rate of 2.1 children per mother would see a peak in the mid-1980s, indicating that the kindergarten class of 1990 would represent the vanguard of larger school enrollments.

So it is possible that superfluous buildings might be needed again in ten years. Might it not be more sensible to hold on to them than risk having to build new ones in the foreseeable future? Some school districts are finding new uses for them — Headstart programs, preschools, social service agencies and day-care centers, for example.

Considering what inflation does to construction costs and a general need for better resource utilization, we urge that school buildings not become victims of the "throw-away" mentality.

George Anastaplo vindicated

The inaugural issue of FOCUS/Midwest (June 1962) highlighted an article by Irving Dilliard on George Anastaplo and the outrageous conduct of the "Illinois Committee on Character and Fitness" which voted not to recommend him to the bar. Anastaplo is now a lecturer at the University of Chicago and professor of political science at Rosary College. He had refused to answer questions as to his political beliefs and, moreover, affirmed his belief in the Declaration of Independence: "whenever the particular government in power becomes destructive of these ends [life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness] it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and thereupon to establish a new government."

During the McCarthy era, such daring was not tolerated. Anastaplo even lost the case before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1961 except for a dissenting opinion by Justice Hugo Black.

After 28 years, the Illinois Committee has reversed itself and recommended to the Illinois Supreme Court that George Anastaplo be admitted to the bar. Anastaplo is not so sure that he welcomes admission. A lecturer and writer of many books and papers, he finds that his admission "may even obstruct people's view of how things really are." He argues that it may not be in the public interest to admit him, "if only as a salutary reminder to the bar of how it can go wrong."

Today, by the mettle of his brilliance and energy, George Anastaplo is larger than the Illinois bar. While he certainly does not need their belated endorsement as to his "character and fitness," it is a wrong of yesterday which must be righted. The bar is to be commended for admitting the error of its ways and may the "Anastaplo case" forever remind it of its fallibility.



missouri politics

by Rodney Wright

If the number of people who vote in elections is accurate indication of public interest, then non-presidential elections are generally boring events for the American citizenry. While turnout in presidential elections has declined from 63.8% in 1960 to 54.4% in 1976, turnout in non-presidential elections has dropped even more. Curtis Gans, director of the Committee for the Study of the American electorate, tells us that Brendon Byrne was re-elected governor in New Jersey this fall with 15% of the eligible vote, Mayor Ed Koch was elected in New York City with less than 12% of the potential votes, and that the outcome of the highly controversial Proposition 13 in California was decided with only about 40% of the eligible voters casting their ballots.

Most people believe that people ought to vote, and that voting is a civic responsibility. Nevertheless, they stay away from the polls in droves. Why do people fail to vote? One argument is that people are relatively content and thus feel no need to become active. Others allege that the electorate is presented with "no meaningful choices"; therefore, there isn't much reason to vote. Inherent in both of these arguments is the notion that people pursue their own self-interest. Thus, if and when the resolution of any electoral conflict is perceived by many to affect their own well-being, a higher turnout should result.

The Turnout

This introduces one of the more notable aspects of the 1978 Missouri elections: the unusually high turnout. Though the 1.57 million who voted was short of the 1.82 million forecast by Secretary of State James C. Kirkpatrick, it was the highest number of votes cast in a Missouri off-year election since 1934. The high turnout was the product of an election issue which many voters perceived as having

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significant impact on their, or the state's, economic welfare — the proposed "right-to-work" amendment. But the post election euphoria about this "record turnout" must be tempered with some data that place the election in perspective. The 1.57 million votes in 1978 is substantially below the 1.95 million cast in 1976 and is under one-half of the eligible electorate.

Right-to-Work

The most hotly contested election was not between candidates, but between proponents and opponents of the right-to-work amendment. To illustrate this, 32,570 more Missourians voted on the amendment than voted in the election for state auditor, the only statewide office on the ballot. In normal elections statewide candidate contests draw far more votes than proposed constitutional amendments.

The amendment was placed on the ballot by a petition drive spearheaded by the National "Right-to-Work" organization. It was made clear that Missouri was selected as a bellwether to test the possibilities for success in industrial states. Missouri seemed to be the perfect target state because of its large union membership, large rural population and southern influence.

Specifically, the 23rd amendment proposed making union security clauses a violation of the Missouri constitution. These clauses are negotiated into labor contracts and make union membership (or the paying of union dues) a prerequisite for employment. Organized labor viewed this amendment as a threat to unionism. And though labor locals had in the past been generally unsuccessful in efforts to coordinate their election efforts statewide, the unions organized through the United Labor Committee and conducted a well-financed and well organized campaign to defeat amendment 23. Part of the credit for the labor effort must be given to political consultant Matt Reese, who coordinated the campaign. Reese seems to have a midas touch in Missouri politics.

At the outset it was clear that organized labor had enough potential votes to defeat the amendment. The problem was to get the membership to vote and to vote in the right direction. Labor has generally met with little success in their efforts to increase the labor vote turnout. To further complicate the issue, early polls indicated that many (as many as one-half) of the union membership in Missouri supported right-to-work. In fact, many union members' names appeared on the petitions to place the amendment

on the ballot. Thus, labor's electoral strategy had to involve issue education, registration and a subsequent get-out-the-vote effort.

Both proponents and opponents waged expensive media campaigns. Each side presented data to illustrate that its position would provide economic benefits in Missouri. Labor's media campaign often made a very "conservative" argument: "we've got it good in Missouri, let's keep what we've got." Labor also attacked the powerful symbol of "right-to-work." Much like the abortion slogan of "right-to-life," the words "right-to-work" evoke strong sentiment. Thus labor always referred to the amendment as the "so-called right-to-work amendment." (Interestingly, while the liberal St. Louis Post-Dispatch always used quotation marks around the term, the conservative St. Louis Globe-Democrat did not.) They also encouraged people to vote against amendment 23 rather than to vote against right-to-work.

The proponents' early media efforts emphasized that right-to-work was best for everyone, including labor. Later in the campaign, this strategy was apparently abandoned and some of the right-to-work television advertisements clearly appealed to anti "big labor" attitudes.

The survey data published before the election made labor the election night favorite. Thus the outcome was not surprising. What was surprising was the magnitude of the labor victory (nearly 60%), and also the geographical distribution of the vote. Early predictions were that the urban areas would crank out large margins for labor that would be whittled away by the votes in the outstate counties. The question was whether the lead would be whittled into a right-to-work victory. To be sure, labor won big victories in Missouri's two major metropolitan areas.

The vote in these metropolitan counties accounts for nearly 58% of the total state vote. Therefore, the large lead of 276,707 in "no" votes was virtually insurmountable outstate. But rather than substantial losses outstate, labor actually won a close election (348,557 to 313,862), receiving 52.6% of the vote. The right-to-work amendment received over 60% of the vote in only 14 counties. Those 14 counties are clustered along the Iowa and Arkansas borders. The average number of votes cast in these counties was only 3,572. Thus they are among the very smallest of Missouri counties. Of Missouri's 115 counties, the right-to-work amendment was defeated in



Bond



Phelps

McNary

72. There was simply no good news in the election returns for the right-to-work backers.

Many suggested before the election that the large turnout produced by the right-to-work controversy would have a large impact on other Missouri elections. And since much of the increased turnout was among labor union memberships it was expected that Democratic candidates would benefit.

State Auditor

The office of state auditor was the only statewide position up for election. This election was interesting because it represented a comeback attempt by former Governor Warren Hearnes. The Hearnes comeback was unsuccessful, though, when Republican James Antonio won by a narrow margin (51.9% to 48.1%). Antonio had served as deputy auditor under the last two administrations and was endorsed by the present auditor Thomas Keyes — a Democrat appointed by Governor Joe Teasdale. Antonio adopted a campaign strategy similar to the one used by Democrat George Lehr when he was elected auditor in 1974. Antonio stressed the need for professionalism in the auditor's office, and emphasized qualifications as a certified public accountant. This seems to be a salient argument in Missouri. And this argument, coupled with Hearnes' unpopularity among many voters, led to the Antonio victory.

Hearnes ran very well in the southeast part of Missouri, his home area. He also did well in most of the metropolitan area counties, certainly benefiting from the high right-to-work turnout. A devastating blow to his election chances were struck in St. Louis County, the largest county in the state (24% of the total vote). In statewide elections a Democratic candidate must generally break even in St. Louis County to have a good chance of winning. Hearnes received 43.7% of the vote in the county. Had he received 52% of the vote, he would have won the election.

U.S. Congress

Missouri has ten U.S. congressional seats. Of these ten elections, eight were easy wins for the incumbents. They were: Incumbent congressmen Bill Clay (D) in the 1st district, Richard Gephardt (D) in the 3rd, Ike Skelton (D) in the 4th, Richard Bolling (D) in the 5th, Gene Taylor (R) in the 7th, Richard Ichord (D) in the 8th, Harold Volkmer (D) in the 9th, and Bill Burris (D) in the 10th won landslide victories. The close races anticipated in the 2nd and 6th district were not as close as predicted, and the incumbents won.

Robert Young in the 2nd, and Tom Coleman in the 6th won their seats in 1976. Young won a very close election benefiting from a somewhat splintered Republican party. Coleman's victory was considered a fluke. His 1976 opponent, Morgan Maxfield, looked to be on his way to an easy victory when a series of scandals devastated his campaign. Young and Coleman were thought to be vulnerable in 1978.

Young's opponent was Bob Chase, a former St. Louis newscaster. Chase, in a vigorous campaign, accused Young of fiscal extravagance and irresponsibility. Young countered with citing his ability, as an experienced legislator, to "get things done" for St. Louis County. Coleman's opponent was a Missouri state senator, Phil Snowden. Though initially Snowden was thought to have a good chance to upset Coleman (Democrats outnumber Republicans in the 6th by 2 to 1), his campaign never really got off the ground.

In his post election comments, Chase argued that he was defeated by the right-to-work issue. Young, a member of the pipefitters union, probably benefited more than anyone from the amendment being on the ballot. But credit must be given to Young for very effectively using his two years in office to solidify his grasp on his congressional seat. And the same can be said for Coleman. Both would seem, barring unforeseen circumstances, to have safe congressional seats.

The State Legislature

Though Republicans hoped to make significant inroads into Democratic control of the Missouri state legislature, Democrats actually picked up a few seats. Democrats gained five seats in the house (to a 117-46 margin), and one seat in the senate (a 23-11 edge). Again the right-to-work vote probably paid dividends for the Democratic candidates. Normally, in an off-year election, Republicans could hope to make significant gains in the state legislature. Instead, they fell to their lowest level since the Democratic landslide in 1964. While very successful at contesting statewide elections, the Republican party has lost 20 seats in the house in the last two elections.

In general, the election was consistent with past elections, in that a Republican candidate did well statewide while the party did poorly in its attempt to gain seats in the state legislature. For future elections, the Republican party is becoming very top heavy in available candidates to run for governor, particularly given the apparent reluctance of any Republican to run against Tom Eagleton for his U.S. Senate seat. Names mentioned as possible candidates are former governor Christopher Bond, Attorney General John Ashcroft, Lt. Governor William Phelps, and St. Louis County Supervisor Gene McNary (who waged a very successful re-election campaign in the November elections). Republicans, who hold a tenuous position in Missouri electoral politics, cannot afford a bitter primary election contest.

The re-election margins by Congressmen Gephardt, Skelton, and Volkmer demonstrate that they are very young and effective candidates. Each was first elected in 1976. In their re-election bids Volkmer and Skelton received over 70% of the vote, Gephardt, somewhat amazingly, received over 80% of the vote. Because of their apparent vote-getting ability, each will be looked to as potential candidates when Senator John Danforth runs for re-election in 1982.

The Missouri electorate, in 1978, seemed content to conserve or maintain the existing political environment. The right-to-work amendment was defeated so badly that another attempt to get it ratified in the near future seems unlikely. All ten of Missouri's U.S. Congressmen were re-elected with comfortable margins. And the voters did nothing to alter the Democratic dominance of the state legislature. Missouri voters spoke in large numbers, but they spoke in favor of the status quo.

illinois politics

by Sheldon Gardner

The fall elections confirmed two trends in our politics. The first is the decline of the political party as a meaningful symbol in politics, and its corollary increase of charismatic or personality politics. The second trend is the continuing decline of the Republican party. This might be best summarized in the comment of a minor Republican official, who in looking at the election returns said "Party loyalty is becoming more and more meaningless except that ours is more meaningless than theirs."

The election in Illinois was best described by a Democratic committeeman who commented that, "The election results were great, we lost the top of the ticket, but carried everything else."

The three strong ticket Republican leaders — Percy, Thompson, and Scott — won decisively, but did little to pull in the rest of their state ticket. It appears that in Illinois there are no coat tails. When the voters are undecided, they have a tendency to identify with the Democrats and to reject the Republicans. This spells constant trouble for the Republicans, since their landslide victories bring in no one else besides the landslide victors.

Before the campaigns heated up, it would have been difficult to imagine the defeat of any of the three incumbent Republican candidates. Charles Percy was thought to be an invincible candidate for U.S. Senator. Governor Thompson, who came off an immense victory two years ago, seemed to be undefeatable. The campaign against Attorney-General Scott never took hold.

The Democrats, faced with a tough but probably losing race, could not present their strongest candidates, but only their most anxious. Alex Seith,

Percy's opponent, came out of nowhere with a finely tuned hate campaign, reminiscent of Joe McCarthy and Richard Nixon. Seith proceeded to mold his positions to oppose Percy. He poured about \$750,000 of his own money into his huge campaign chest. Seith created a plausible threat, and Percy reacted, mostly by trying to appeal to conservatives. At times it seems as if the media, especially the *Chicago Sun-Times*, helped create the media candidacy of Seith, only to then create Percy's comeback. The influence of the media explains the surprising shift to Seith and the equally startling swing back to Percy. There was a reality to the public's mood, however. Seith's strategy of shooting at every possible liberal position held by Percy found ready acceptance in the conservative Republican community, which had sought to chastise its overly liberal senator.

Senator Percy's remark about PLO Leader Arafat being a *moderate alien*ated the Jewish community, who although traditionally Democratic, were Percy supporters. Until the campaign focused on Seith instead of Percy, Percy was suffering from a loss of his conservative constituency without picking up his usual liberal and Jewish support. Late in the campaign the media came to Percy's rescue, particularly with Mike Royko's columns, pointing to Seith as a "bad buy." A new vitality was thrown into the campaign. Liberal independents found something to *fight about, and made* an issue of Seith's scurrilous campaign. A survey of selected areas indicated that Percy ran considerably stronger than Thompson in the Lakefront area with its heavy Jewish and liberal voting pattern. Percy ran well

ahead of Thompson in the black areas, and ran an even race with Seith in the middle-class black community. Percy's strength relative to Thompson shrank as one pulled away from the Lakefront and black areas to the southwest and northwest corners of the city and continued to shrink as one moved out to the more conservative suburbs. Downstate, the falling off was even more drastic, with Percy running well behind Thompson. However, since Thompson won by such a large majority, Percy's vote totals still allowed him to win a strong victory, with almost 55% compared to Thompson's 60%.

The Gubernatorial Race

There were few surprises in the gubernatorial race. Thompson won by the greatest margin ever given any incumbent Illinois governor. Illinois, like most states, has a tendency to turn against its governors for trying to do what is an impossible job in keeping state government going. However, Thompson's strategy of getting along with everybody and living with the Democratic machine, generally succeeded. Thompson had to tread water for the first two year term in order to get elected for a four year term. Superficially, one may feel that Thompson's failure to gain control of either house of the legislature was a loss, since both houses saw slight Republican gains, *though not* enough to gain control. However, some political analysts believe that Thompson's desire to run for president could be helped by the fact that he does not control the legislature. Whatever his achievements, they stand out so much more. Republican leadership in Illinois has been such that the governor can exert control only by skillfully using patronage. If a governor such as Ogilvie could not control his own party, it is extremely doubtful that Thompson could. Thompson has a better relationship with the strong Republican minority in the legislature, and is good at horse trading with the Democrats. If he can translate these political assets into programs, he can then point to the gains which he had made. If these concern issues of economy and efficiency (taxes and spending), he will be enormously popular. And he has the Democrats over a barrel. The Democratic legislators themselves are caught with the commitment to vote for efficiency and economy. By stressing that he has a mandate on these issues, Thompson can become a leader of the current popular mood against spending and bureaucracy.



Sheldon Gardner is a Chicago attorney.

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FOCUS/Midwest

Challenger Mike Bakalis, like the other two principal Democratic challengers, Alex Seith and Richard Troy, was a hustling, aggressive opponent. Although a man with no big political base — he did not come from Cook County — he gets along well with the Cook County machine. Bakalis left the office of Comptroller, where re-election was reasonably certain, and ran in an almost hopeless gubernatorial race. Why? Bakalis, like many other politicians, figures that he can move ahead only if he is able to take on and win a big race. In a year when the race was readily winnable, he would not have the political power to gain slanting. Therefore he ran and lost, making the party obligated to him for a future try.

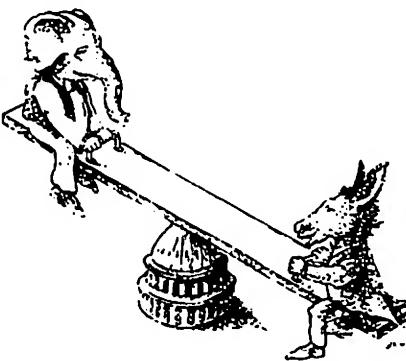
The Other Races

In the race for attorney-general, incumbent Bill Scott was probably the most popular Republican candidate in Illinois history. Not only was he unbeatable, but Dick Troy's campaign fell on its face. Troy was never able to cut into Scott's popularity. Even the federal probe of Scott's past campaign spending came to naught. Both Troy and Seith suffered from the same problem. In order to swing an ax and clobber an incumbent, the critic must himself have some credibility. Richard Troy, the son-in-law and political heir of Matt Bieszcat, one of the strongest and most patronage-oriented of the Chicago Democratic committeemen, could not attack the patronage practices of Scott without sounding a hollow ring. Troy's political career may well be over after Scott's devastating two-to-one victory.

The balance of the ticket proved of little interest. Alan Dixon slaughtered his Republican opponent. Sharon Sharp was personally attractive but politically ineffectual. Sharp made a big issue of Dixon's issuing of special license plates, including her own. Dixon, a long-time office holder, widely regarded as a decent and honorable man, crushed her by almost three to one. Sharp exits as one of the worst state candidates in recent state history. This will be an unfortunate setback for women candidates, although she had played little part in the activities of Republican women.

The races for treasurer and comptroller excited little voter interest. The race between former Champaign County Treasurer Jim Skelton and former metropolitan sanitary district trustee Jerome Constantino proved to be a race of negatives. Skelton proposed to reverse a policy established and followed by the former state treasurers

Scott, Stevenson, and Dixon, who used state deposits to encourage creative investments by the banks holding the state funds. Constantino simply was not a credible candidate to reform-minded voters as he was accused of ties to both the "West Side Block" and the Teamsters, but Constantino won by a sizable margin. The race for comptroller saw Roland Burris become the first black to be elected to a statewide office. Burris originally was an independent and a Walker appointee. He made his peace with the black regulars in the machine and represented them on the ticket. He was opposed by John Castle, the son of Latham Castle, a well known Republican attorney-general, and a Thompson state appointee. Both men were well qualified.



After the Republicans swept the top of the ticket, the Democrats came through. Where there is no personality for the voter to turn to there is no party loyalty to Republicans. In Illinois, the undecided voter with no strong candidate preference usually turns to the Democratic ticket.

The Republican county ticket was a disaster. The sole Republican office holder, Delores Foster, the Thompson appointee to the metropolitan sanitary district to fill the vacancy left by the resignation of Republican Joan Anderson, was defeated. No Republican even waged a credible campaign.

Most of the blame for the poor showing must be placed upon the Republican party leadership, which seems to have little or no concern with Republican success in Cook County. In addition, the campaign of Donald Mulack was one of the most inept campaigns in recent history. Mulack's comment that the sheriff's office under incumbent Sheriff Dick Elrod had too many Jews and blacks was a classic blunder.

The rest of the Republican campaigns were equally ineffective. Even the Republican campaigns for the appellate court judge's positions, with

fine candidates and good financing, had great difficulty, principally because of the weak candidates on the rest of the county tickets.

If the Republican party is so weak that it cannot be a meaningful opposition party in Cook County, and if the independents cannot by themselves win on a county-wide basis in either the Democratic party primary or in the general election, the machine will win by default. This is especially ironic since the strength of the machine has eroded in recent years. The key to success in past years was putting together the independent vote either with enough dissident Democrats in a primary or with enough Republicans in a general election to win. Although the independent movement suffered greatly from the loss of many aldermanic and legislative candidates, the number of independent voters has increased. However, without a substantive base from Republican voters and a Republican party that can find and finance candidates, it is impossible to imagine a winning coalition for county offices.

Republican strength in the city continues to decline. Mulack carried only one ward, the 41st. The Republicans showed little of their past strength in the northwest and southwest side.

The independent vote carried the Lakefront from Evanston into the middle-class black wards of the far south side. But the city remains strongly dominated by the Democratic machine. The county races average 60% Democratic and 40% Republican.

In an interesting fashion, the defeat of chief Judge Boyle shows that this 60% margin was quite accurate. He was only able to secure a vote of slightly over 59% and was defeated in a retention race that required a 60% affirmative vote. Such are the strange quirks of Illinois politics.

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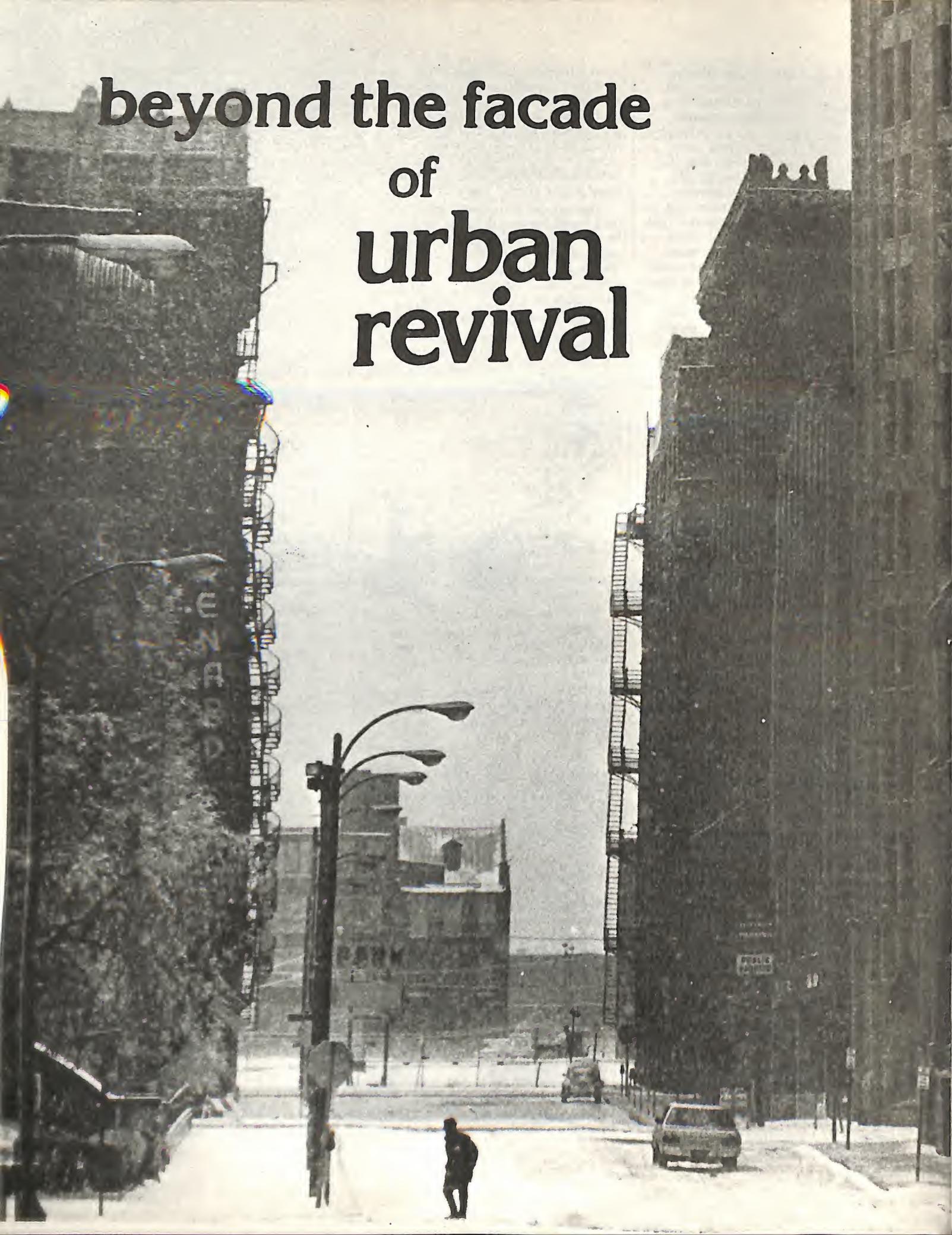
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beyond the facade of urban revival

EDITOR'S NOTE: The quality of urban revival is the theme of this issue. Editorial contributions were assembled and edited by Dennis R. Judd, for eight years professor of political science at Washington University and now head of the political science department at the University of Denver. The precariousness of urban survival emerges from every article. Some are more hopeful than others, but throughout the reader is left with the feeling: shouldn't we do more to provide for the basics of adequate food, housing and health as well as to ensure the vitality and creativity of our cities?

The collection of essays which make up this special edition of *FOCUS/Midwest* comment upon the cultural and political character of three midwestern cities: St. Louis, Kansas City, and Chicago. Of course, only selected aspects of life in these cities are covered. The areas highlighted in one usually can be applied to other cities. The commonality of problems in our cities is overwhelming.

Midwestern cities tend to envoke an air of self-doubt about their status as great cities. No doubt this atmosphere reflects, in part, the economic decline and slow population growth characteristic of the midwest over the past thirty years. St. Louis is probably the purest case of this identity crisis. Most St. Louisans seem to envoke an ambivalence about the city; during my eight years there — from 1970 to 1978 — I shared in this feeling. Many of St. Louis' best qualities are also its worst — depending on one's point of view. For example, St. Louis has a remarkable small-town atmosphere despite the size of the metropolitan area. The advantage of this is that it has a great deal of day-to-day comfort, perhaps too much of it. It seems more like a village than a city. Each of its component parts — the South side, the North side, the West end, etc., maintain a distinctly separate identity. The suburbs also play up their "unique" aspects, the result being a lot of separate but contiguous communities rather than the Metropolis of the Superman legend (that series, remember, was filmed in St. Louis). This fact is best illustrated by the bumper stickers in the West end, which boast of "Euclid, Missouri," Euclid being no more than an active thoroughfare with some nightlife.

This issue does not attempt to present a comprehensive view of the city and its environs. However, there are important observations offered which get at the heart of what makes St. Louis tick. When looking at redevelopment in St. Louis, Alvin Mushkatel asks, "redevelopment for whom?" Unless this question is asked more pointedly than in the past, redevelopment and renovation will "save" the city only for the middle class and the business community. In the same way

that Gaslight Square was fated to fail partly because it was a middle class island of tourism in the midst of great poverty and physical dilapidation, the current phase of redevelopment has to be considered precarious when it, too, constitutes an island of middle class tourism or residential exclusiveness in the midst of poverty.

E. Terrence Jones identifies two primary aspects of St. Louis' development which help determine the quality of life for its residents: uncontrolled urban sprawl, and amateur government. In many respects, the two go hand in hand; that is, the multiplicity of tiny governments in the St. Louis metropolitan area practically guarantees that governance will not be especially competent. As Jones points out, residents of the St. Louis area do not seem to demand much of the government. This attitude is a well-meaning conservatism gone awry: small government is seen as the equivalent of less taxation, which invariably is interpreted as an unqualified blessing. Jones points out that there are great costs in this particular view of what government can or ought to do.

Dale Newman's article on Kansas City is a most comprehensive and revealing portrait of the city. Unlike St. Louis, Kansas City has, over the past few years, received a tremendously favorable national press. In part, this has reflected a conscious strategy by the city to promote its image. And it has worked — who has not seen the glittering descriptions of the city in national magazines and newspapers? In little over a decade, Kansas City has transformed itself from an alleged cow town to a reputed "city on the move."

Does this mean that Kansas City has become a more "liveable" city? Newman examines this question in some detail, and provides us with some surprising answers. As he points out, there is a great difference between the veneer of big city transformation and revitalization, and the actual impact on cultural and civic life. In many cases, Kansas City's renewal has been quite ephemeral and therefore exciting — but not necessarily enduring.

Jill Vanneman, in her essay on the theater in Chicago, examines the rather shaky financial position of the off-

loop theater companies in that city. As she points out, small theater companies rely upon corporate support for their continued existence. It is odd that something so central to the quality of life is so financially vulnerable, even in a big, complex city like Chicago. If the cultural vitality of other cities likewise is dependent upon private philanthropy, then the recent renaissance of the central cities is, indeed, precarious.

Ed Funk's essay on "Death of a Rural Village" is a delightful essay of the changes brought about by urban growth. The transformation of Tinley, Illinois, from a rural village to an archetypical example of suburban sprawl is a familiar feature of the American landscape over the last two decades. His rather nostalgic portrayal of life in the early suburban village may strike some as overly romantic, but this judgment itself no doubt reflects the adjustments we have all had to make to modern American urban life. Too often, we view super highways, urban sprawl, and intercity ghettos as "natural" conditions of life in America. Funk's essay shows that these are not so "natural." We have simply adjusted our life styles and values so that they seem to have always been there. Nevertheless, Funk admits that he would have a hard time returning to the small suburb that he remembers, partly because the life style it represents has become more imaginary than real. Small towns do not fulfill the aspirations of most people. Modern life styles require great mobility, reliance upon mass communications, and, consequently, a certain amount of anonymity — a detachment from community.

Obviously, even lifestyle is not so much a "given" as a choice of values. This is precisely why it is so difficult to measure the "quality of life." As Don Strickland points out in his essay, how to measure the "quality of life" is both the "grand-daddy of all questions" and also one of the most difficult or perhaps impossible to answer. It all depends on whose values are represented in the questions, as well as in the answers.

Dennis R. Judd

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redevelopment in St. Louis: the greatest good for the smallest number

by Alvin Mushkatel

The beautiful broad-leaved, green trees and fine old brick homes in St. Louis offer considerable camouflage for a city facing massive inequality and racial segregation. The quality of life for black and whites living in north St. Louis has deteriorated seriously since 1970. The north St. Louis housing stock has been ignored by both private redevelopment and governmental rehabilitation programs. As a result, physical rehabilitation of the once beautiful housing stock on the north side has not and will not be realized. Instead, one finds a rising number of vacancies, abandoned homes and apartment buildings, and the remains of arson-destroyed buildings. This neglect for physical structures, which represent the basic housing of thousands, translates into a declining quality of life for north St. Louis residents — a life filled with fear and the pervasive presence of a deteriorating environment.

To understand why this deterioration and abandonment has occurred, one must understand the major components of national and local governmental policy and its relation to private enterprise. Whether intentionally or not, this linkage between governmental policy and private enterprise has led to increased segregation and the destruction of people's homes.

A popular fad these days is to proclaim the imminent resurrection of *our cities*. George Wendel, Director of the Center for Urban Programs in St. Louis University, recently told the *Christian Science Monitor* that, as a metropolitan region, St. Louis will maintain its health. Citing the redevelopment in the central business district and along the riverfront, Wendel concluded that the "... nucleus of a new St. Louis region" is well underway. Indeed, public and private actors have played vigorous roles in the rebirth of St. Louis' central business district and some of the central west end. Sadly,

one cost of this core rehabilitation has been a lack of redevelopment by the major public and private institutions in the northern sector of the city. St. Louis finds itself in the curious position of rebuilding its CBD, while hastening the decline of residences on its north side.

Since the early 1970s, governmental policy has been fashioned into a pattern of redevelopment designed to save the central business district and a central corridor, but to salvage little else. Federal policy has encouraged this pattern of rehabilitation through the Community Development Act of 1974. Anthony Downs, one of the chief consultants involved in the shaping of the Community Development Act of 1974, outlined three major types of areas within cities: healthy, transitional and deteriorated. Deteriorated areas were considered poor investments for governmental and private funds. Instead, it was recommended that governmental funding be concentrated in highly visible programs located in transitional neighborhoods. These programs would spur private investment in such areas, thereby increasing the private sector's confidence in redevelopment. To successfully achieve this objective, these funds must be spent wisely and prudently; investment in deteriorated areas is viewed by business as neither wise nor prudent.

The City of St. Louis has adopted its own redevelopment program based upon the logic underlying the Community Development Act. In 1973, the city commissioned Team IV, Inc., planning design and development consultants, to undertake a city-wide planning study.

The Team IV report became the focus of considerable conflict in St. Louis. In their preface to the February, 1976 draft comprehensive plan, Team IV defended themselves from what they considered to be unfair crit-

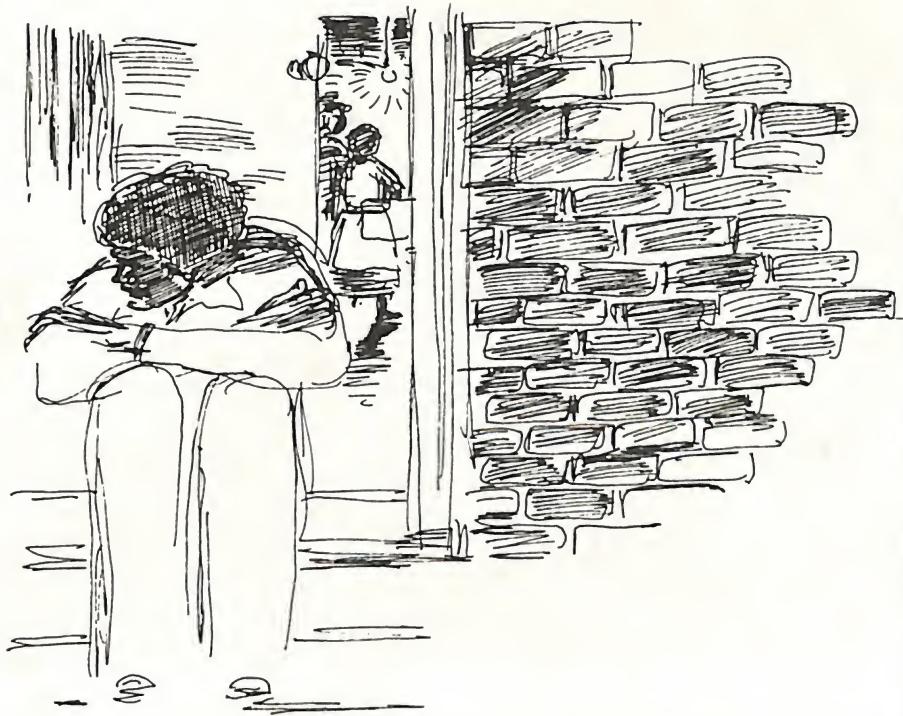
icism, stemming from what they considered a misunderstanding in their initial draft of the plan. The nature of this criticism and the Team IV defense provide significant insight into what appears to be official city policy in deed, if not in name.

Team IV suggested dividing areas of the city into three categories: depletion, redevelopment and conservation. Depletion areas would be allowed to deteriorate and would receive very little, if any, funding for physical rehabilitation. Black residents labeled the report "racist," and accused it of being designed to justify the exclusion of north St. Louis from redevelopment efforts. However, Team IV maintained that this was not the case; they claimed to have envisioned these areas as mere "pockets" of extreme blight and not as vast areas of the community. Team IV further denied that they had recommended decreasing public services in the depletion areas. They claimed to have recommended that service levels be maintained, but advised the adoption of a "... no growth policy until firm market and adequate public re-

sources are available."

Such private sector practices as redlining had long reflected development priorities like those enunciated by government officials. By tracing the location of large-scale redevelopment projects and the mortgaging activities of savings and loan institutions, we can see just how systematically north St. Louis has been abandoned.

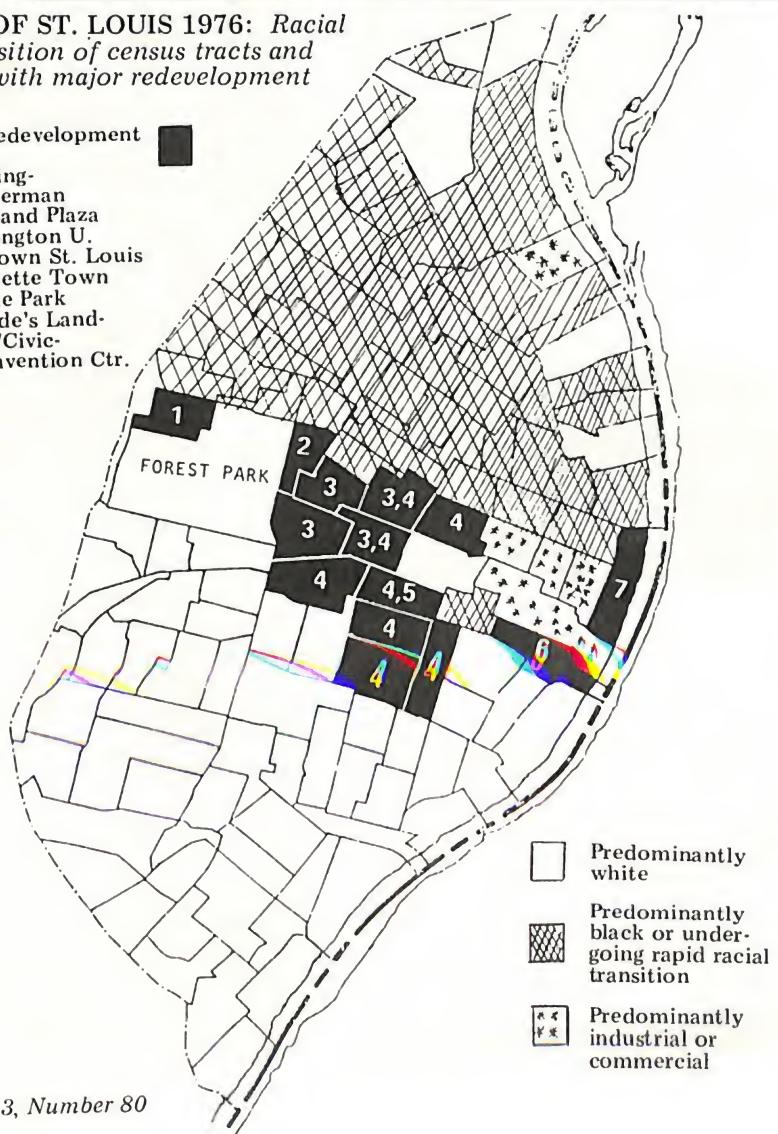
The accompanying map sketches major new redevelopment projects approved by the city through 1977. This diagram also depicts the severe residential racial segregation in St. Louis. These data have been drawn from an excellent housing study of the entire metro region headed by Gary Tobin of Washington University, and is available from the East-West Gateway



CITY OF ST. LOUIS 1976: Racial composition of census tracts and tracts with major redevelopment

Major redevelopment

- 1 Pershing-Waterman
- 2 Maryland Plaza
- 3 Washington U.
- 4 Newtown St. Louis
- 5 Lafayette Town
- 6 Lasalle Park
- 7 Laclede's Landing/Civic-Convention Ctr.



Coordinating Council of St. Louis. As can be seen, major redevelopment is located in the central business district and along a corridor stretching from downtown to the western city limit bounded by Washington University.

The sector of the city lying north of this redevelopment corridor is predominantly black, whereas the sector south of the corridor is almost exclusively white. According to 1970 census data, blacks constitute 67.1% of the population in census tracts on the north side. If we utilize Tobin's 1974 data, and exclude the six primarily white census tracts, blacks constitute about 80% of north St. Louis' population. In sharp contrast, 1970 census data indicate that only 1.4% of south St. Louis' population is black. Moreover, in 1974 no census tracts were reported to be undergoing rapid racial change.

It is against this background that St. Louis' rehabilitation projects should be evaluated. The major downtown redevelopment projects include the Civic and Convention Centers, and Laclede's Landing along the riverfront — new commercial facilities primarily benefiting downtown businesses. The other projects along the corridor are a mixture of commercial and housing developments. Seven projects will account for 10,000 units of new or rehabilitated housing. The Maryland Plaza redevelopment project in the central west end most likely will serve as the commercial focus for the corridor redevelopment. Current projections indicate that costs will exceed \$250 million. These seven projects represent more redevelopment activity than has occurred throughout the entire city during the past ten years.

Significantly, in the last eight years only two redevelopment projects have been located outside this central corridor: Lafayette Square in the south and Jeff-Vander-Lou on the near northside. Neither of these rehabilitation projects were financed by large corporations, but were supported instead by non-profit organizations. Their beginnings can be traced to the innovative efforts of a few bold urban pioneers committed to these areas of the city. Both projects were undertaken nearly ten years ago and are not considered part of the city's redevelopment activity.

Major corporations have invested an impressive \$250 million in the creation of this central corridor of redevelopment funds. At the time of this writing, the City Council and the Community Development Agency are deadlocked over how \$56 million of CDA

funds should be spent. Part of the current conflict reflects the continuing belief held by north St. Louis residents that they have been "written off" by the city government.

A forced resolution of this conflict between city council and the Community Development Agency soon may be triggered by the federal government, which is threatening to reclaim its funds unless agreement is reached. Despite its serious need, St. Louis may find itself in the unique, unenviable position of having to return CDA funds untouched to the federal government.

Although the city has not been able to contribute the same kind of financial backing that private corporations have, it has aided development projects by providing support services. Areas of the city ear-marked for redevelopment have had old streets repaved and new ones built. Street lights and other support activities also are evident.

If we trace the areas where approved redevelopment has been proposed or is under way, it becomes clear that "transitional" or "healthy" areas have been designated for rehabilitation. In these areas, income levels have dropped below that for the metropolitan region as a whole, but they have not plunged to the levels found in "deteriorated" areas. Additionally, the racial composition of redevelopment

areas is revealing. Census tracts containing the redevelopment projects are 36% non-white, compared with the 67% non-white found north of the corridor and the 1.4% found in the southern half of the city. Using 1974 school enrollment figures to locate areas that underwent rapid racial change from 1970 to 1974, we find such transition in only two of the thirteen census tracts in which rehabilitation is taking place.

Mortgage Association funds. FNMA money is designated for areas and buyers considered high risks by private lending institutions. But according to the Tobin study, only 25 (of 51) tracts in the north side had even been considered for FNMA funds as of 1977, and nine of these 25 census tracts are located immediately adjacent to the central corridor where redevelopment was planned.

From the perspective of private developers and city administrators, investment in transitional areas may hold the greatest chance for economic success, both in terms of obtaining funding and halting further deterioration. However, the poor minorities who have resided in these areas may find themselves priced out of the market once development is accomplished, and as a consequence, may be forced to move. South St. Louis is not a realistic alternative for non-whites, hence, movement into the poorer housing stock of north side St. Louis or into similar areas in St. Louis County seems likely.

Such incorporated areas as University City, Wellston, Kinloch, Berkeley and Normandy have undergone rapid racial transition in recent years. The pattern of racial segregation which has characterized St. Louis city proper, is beginning to extend itself county-wide, with north county becoming increasingly black, while south county remains almost exclusively white. Unfortunately, having moved to north county, new residents frequently encounter living conditions similar to the segregated ghetto in the city; and in addition they must cope with the hostility of white residents.

The media may be filled with optimistic proclamations concerning the good health of the St. Louis metropolitan region. However, from the perspective of north St. Louis city residents, the quality of life is anything but healthy. Abandonment has reached the 40% level in some north-side census tracts. Homes are dilapidated, inadequate heat and plumbing is common, and overcrowding is a frequent occurrence. The lack of redevelopment activity, or even interest, on the part of private and public institutions leads to the discouraging prognosis of continuing blight and irreversible deterioration. In St. Louis, redevelopment of the central city provides the greatest good for the smallest number.

Alvin H. Mushkatel teaches land use planning and state and local politics at the University of Denver. He was on the faculty of University of Missouri, St. Louis, for two years.



Busch Stadium, St. Louis

how can St. Louis look so good & be so bad?

by E. Terrence Jones

Look at that St. Louis skyline," A.J. Cervantes used to say during his 1977 mayoral campaign. "Isn't it beautiful! Doesn't it make you feel good about St. Louis!"

St. Louis' cityscape does look better in the 1970s than it did in the 1950s, and exuberant salesmen like Cervantes can make all our hearts a bit warmer as — with our backs toward East St. Louis — we admire the Arch and its supporting cast. But although the St. Louis area — and especially downtown — has some new finery, the stainless steel clothes hide an undernourished body. Stripping an indigent of his rags and dressing him in a tuxedo might make him look wealthy — but, coat and tails and top hat notwithstanding, he is still impoverished.

While St. Louis' buildings went up, its economy stagnated, its residents' physical safety remained endangered, its population's health failed to improve, its air stayed hazardous, and its housing stock deteriorated.

The symptoms of the St. Louis malaise abound. According to the most reliable measurement of crime (the national victimization survey), 42 out of every 1,000 City of St. Louis residents aged twelve or older were victims of a major crime against a person (murder, forcible rape, aggravated assault) in 1971-1972; by 1974-1975, the rate had risen to 48 out of 1,000. During the first six years of the 1970s, over twelve thousand City of St. Louis dwelling units were demolished. Throughout the last decade, the infant mortality rate in the St. Louis area has continued to be well above the

national average. In 1976, 76,000 St. Louis area residents actively sought jobs — but could not find them. Thousands more were so discouraged that they had stopped looking.

The St. Louis area's quality-of-life performance did not go completely unnoticed. Between 1970 and 1975, the St. Louis area population declined from 2,411,000 to 2,367,000. For the same period, 122,000 more persons — 66 per day, left the St. Louis area than moved into it. Many people vote with their feet, and the podiatric balloting was and is going against St. Louis.

How can St. Louis look so good and be so bad? Why, take the river-front and Lafayette Square and Shaw's Garden and the Central West End and Westport Plaza and How can an area have all these fine things — and more — and still be subpar?

There are many reasons. Some — like the vicissitudes of the national economy (the demand for automobiles, for instance) — are totally beyond local control. Others — like the decision to build a new fighter plane — are largely insulated from local influence although a skilled and experienced Congressional delegation can help.

There are other obstacles to a better St. Louis that are within our collective selves. Some ideas in our heads — long believed but seldom assessed — hold us back. These informal norms affect our perspective of St. Louis and influence the way key St. Louis institutions operate. Two of these counterproductive norms are especially damaging: a confusion

between quantity and quality and a belief in amateur government.

Only the most starry-eyed demographer could expect the St. Louis area's population to grow substantially during the foreseeable future. Although most forecasters agree that the metropolitan area will have about two-and-a-half million residents (give or take a couple of hundred thousand) between now and 2000, many St. Louisans — including a large number of the key policy-makers — act as if population growth was eternal. Steady growth, upward trend lines, big-bigger-biggest is part of many Americans' secular creed; it is little wonder that many find it difficult to deny faith.

But unless St. Louisans begin to realize that there are about as many of us living here today as will live here tomorrow, we will continue to pursue policies which — although they benefit a minority in the short-run — will cost the majority both in the short-run and the long-run.

The region's land use behavior provides the most dramatic example of a growth mentality gone awry. We continue to abandon and abandon at the core while we build and build at the periphery. In 1976 and 1977, for example, building permits were issued for 27,943 private housing units in the

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St. Louis metropolitan area. Most of these (about seventy-seven percent) were for units in the western and southern extremes of St. Louis County and in Franklin, Jefferson, and St. Charles counties. Another eighteen percent were in the eastern portions of the area's Illinois counties. Only about five percent of the new units will be located in the City of St. Louis and inner portions of St. Louis County.

New construction on the periphery has, of course, some benefits: consumers have a wider choice of locales, home builders have larger profits, land speculators have more wins, construction crafts have more work.

These benefits, however, are overwhelmed by the costs of fringe expansion. Private dwelling units do not a city make. Cities also require streets, sewers, public lighting, water mains, electric transformers, telephone exchanges, and many other public and quasi-public capital facilities.

If there were more St. Louisans, then we would need more homes and more public investment. But — for the most part — we already have enough public facilities to support our present and future population. If we are to be a wise area which conserves its scarce resources, then we should get the most of our present capital stock instead of thoughtlessly creating a need for ~~excess capacity~~.

Moving from Jennings to St. Charles or from Affton to Jefferson County is not a wholly private matter in an area with a relatively fixed population. Such moves disperse people over a wider area, and all of us ultimately pay a portion of the additional cost. If another bridge must be built over the Missouri River, we all pay for it through higher state and federal taxes. If Union Electric must construct new transformers in the fringe counties, we all pay for them through higher utility rates. If more people must drive longer distances between home and work, all of our lungs pay for it.

New construction need not occur primarily at the metropolitan area's edge. Consumers can still have diverse choices, home builders can still make money, land speculators can still win, and construction crafts can still work if most new construction occurred within the core instead of at the periphery. But — for this to happen — our way of looking at urban growth and our laissez faire attitude toward regional land use policies must change. The collective costs of a sprawling expansion must be better recognized and, wherever possible, these costs should be attached to the actual expansion structure. Let those moving

to the periphery pay both the individual and the collective price. If that were done, then the outward movement would be drastically reduced.

We can get more quality out of a given quantity if we discourage geographic dispersal. Instead, most encourage it, some tolerate it, and only a few oppose it. In tomorrow's zero-population-growth metropolis, to expand is to revitalize and to build is to rehabilitate.

Not so long ago, almost all of the goods and services consumed by St. Louisans were produced or provided by the private sector. During the past few decades, however, we have demanded more public goods and services and our demands have not gone unanswered. Public sewers have replaced private septic tanks (except in much of the fringe area), public buses have taken over private systems, public recreation facilities have been added at a faster rate than private ones, and so forth.

These public goods and services influence our lives in many important ways. One's nose and one's health will be better if one's neighbor up the hill is hooked into a MSD sewer line rather than if he or she has a leaky septic tank. One's commuting time will be shortened if the public transportation system operates efficiently and effectively. One's leisure time will be more enjoyable if there are public parks located near one's home.

The connection should be clear. Since we do more things through governments — things which can *and do* affect the quality of life — we should be more concerned about how well or poorly public goods and services are produced and delivered. For starters, since government is a labor-intensive enterprise, we might want to have the best available public workforce. The better the producers and deliverers, the better the product and the delivery.

But, established in the American tradition — and especially ingrained in the St. Louis variant — is the notion that it may take an expert to do a good job of running a business, but just about anybody can operate a government. And, in the St. Louis area, just about anybody does.

St. Louis' belief in public administration amateurism shows up in several ways. First, a large number of municipalities in the St. Louis area have no fulltime professional employees. For these cities, municipal government consists of some well-intentioned elected officials who must earn a living elsewhere, a clerk or two with little or

no professional training, and a few undersupervised line personnel. Such cities have no capacity to anticipate, to plan, to evaluate, to monitor, or do the other things that — taken together — make for good management.

Second, compared to similar metropolitan areas, the St. Louis public employees are decidedly underpaid. The \$25,000 ceiling on City of St. Louis positions is the most obvious indicator of this public penury. Such a limit has helped many City departments remain mismanaged for years at a time. Administrators do not live solely on idealism and challenge forever, and ultimately the opportunity to combine those with more dollars in other settings becomes impossible to resist. Moreover, if the ceiling is \$25,000 (and the top salaries are not much higher in other parts of the St. Louis region), then the rest of the salary schedule is also depressed. Some very able and very dedicated persons will still stay, but governments get what they pay for and do not get what they do not pay for.

Third, St. Louisans, including their elected representatives, do not expect enough from government officials. As private stockholders, they demand effective and efficient management. As public stockholders, they tolerate ineffective and inefficient administration. St. Louisans accept the imagery of the bumbling bureaucrat, and they consequently have a so-what-else-is-new reaction to amateur administration. Until St. Louisans get serious about demanding and paying for first-rate public administrators, the public sector's performance will be decidedly uneven.

Contributing to St. Louis' acceptance of inadequate public goods and services is the media's inattention to bureaucratic performance. Most public affairs coverage is confined to the initiation, formulation, and adoption phases of policy-making. Much is said about new proposals and legislative and executive debates, discussions and compromises, frequently with a whose-political-career-is-being-helped-or-hurt-motif. Much is also written about policy initiation, aided by the drum-beating of governmental public relations specialists. But little is written about how, or even whether, a program was implemented or evaluated. Readers are often told that Program X will accomplish Y and Z for St. Louis but, unless blatant scandals occur, seldom is there any follow-up on whatever happened to Program X. Only for sports contests do we get the final score.

Moreover, the noticeable increase in *continued on page 30*

St. Louis on comeback trail

by Dennis R. Judd

During the deep snows of early January, I had lunch with a native New Yorker who was negotiating a fourth year in St. Louis. Naturally, the topic turned to comparisons of lifestyles, general happiness, and etc., and I asked why she was still in St. Louis. "Because this place is simply too comfortable." She paused between bites, then added, "everywhere you live has trade-offs. New York keeps the adrenalin pumping, but at the cost of exhaustion and general social tension. *Here, you can act like you're in a city — even if it does seem a little slow —* but you can do it at your own speed. People out here don't value that enough."

That lunch-time conversation got me thinking about life in St. Louis, especially her later remarks about the selfconsciousness of the place. Probably no big city in the United States has been so inflicted with self-examination of its psyche as St. Louis. It has been labelled "the city that hates itself." The A to Z campaign simply exudes doubt and lack of confidence; it would be difficult to imagine that a Chicago, New York, or San Francisco would consider such a campaign appropriate. More than enough has been written about this selfconsciousness. It may be time to explain why it developed to such a degree, and to assess its impact on the city.

The central feature of St. Louis' development over the last twenty-five years is summed up in one word: suburbanization. The St. Louis Metropolitan Area is one of the most suburbanized urban areas in the United States. During the 1950s, St. Louis

lost 12.5 percent of its population and during the next decade it lost 17 percent. Over this twenty-year period, it lost a larger percentage of its population than any other big city in the United States. From a population of 857,000, recorded in 1950, it declined to 750,000 by 1960 and to 622,000 by 1970. By 1977, the population of the city was estimated to be between 515,000 and 525,000.

Just as important was the decline in economic vitality. From 1958 to 1972, St. Louis City's share of the area's employment in retailing dropped from 56 percent to 27 percent, and from 56 percent to 29 percent in manufacturing. Between 1954 and 1967 the city lost 1300 retailing jobs, compared to St. Louis County's gain of 2800. The trend of the 1960s continued unabated into the present decade.

But movement of population, industry, and commerce out of the city was not probably its worst problem. More important was the fact that city boundaries failed to keep up with this expansion at the periphery. St. Louis' city limits, for example, were the same in 1976 as 100 years before. It is one of the smallest major cities in land area in the United States, and comprises only 26 percent of the land area of the St. Louis metropolitan region. Like many other old cities, St. Louis became surrounded by a multiplicity of political jurisdictions, and St. Louis' problem was perhaps worst than most — with Baltimore, it is one of the nation's two cities which is not included within any other political jurisdiction. Therefore, it is functionally

impossible for St. Louis to annex land around it.

The existence of 94 independent municipalities outside of St. Louis has helped to create a psychology of city-hating. There is no doubt that suburbanization partially took place as a result of the desire to flee the conditions of the central city, and these most particularly included crowding and race. During the severe housing crunch of the late 1940s and the 1950s, middle-class, white families, fled to the only available new housing, which was in the suburbs. From their suburban enclaves, whites looked back at a central city which seemed crowded, dangerous, run-down in its residential areas, and populated by poor blacks. They escaped the city both psychologically and physically. Their proximity to people like themselves and their attachment to their first home mortgage gave them a sense of belonging to their new suburban environment which probably equalled the neighborhood loyalty felt by the ethnics in the old city neighborhoods. The city was alien territory.

These developments were hardly unique to St. Louis. They affected all of the old industrial cities of the northeast and midwest. In St. Louis, the difference was one of degree and scale. The city lost not only its economic vitality but its cultural vitality as well. In 1976, only one first-run movie theater was left in the city. By the early 1970s, few restaurants and quality entertainment spots were left in



downtown, and those that stayed seemed almost out of place on streets that had been left deserted after the five o'clock rush.

The cultural decline of the city seemed all the more pronounced, in people's minds, after the demise of Gaslight Square. The Square had been one of the most famous cultural hot spots in the country in the early 1960s. In a very short time, it became, if anything, an example of St. Louis' failure to compete with other cities and with its suburbs. By the late 1960s, there was not a single place in the city of St. Louis which had an active street life.

The self-hating psychology of St. Louis was thus connected to some undeniable facts, and not to mere self-deception. But that psychology also became a self-fulfilling prophecy. As central city neighborhoods declined, banks and real estate companies increasingly withdrew their money and put it where the returns were the safest and the largest: in the suburbs. Clayton underwent a skyscraper and office boom as corporations moved their headquarters further west, both to escape the conditions of the downtown and to make commuting more convenient for their suburban employees. The city was simply not a good investment.

In the mid-1970s, a downtown redevelopment process began to pick up steam, one which had been put in motion ten years before with the *building of the Arch*. But the recovery has been slow, and it has definitely lagged behind other cities. The downtown skyline is changing, but well after the San Francisco, Atlanta, and Chicago skylines have been almost completely transformed. But the revitalization looks as if it is reaching the takeoff point. Laclede's Landing now has attracted enough interesting places to make it a meaningful area to walk around in during an afternoon. The Euclid-McPherson-Maryland Plaza area in the West End has a more active street life than has existed in the city for years. Property values in the West End have shot up in proportion to the desire of people to live in those areas.

Is all of this a result of the changing psychology of people who live in the city? The answer would be only partially affirmative. Rejuvenation of the city is due to many factors which are beyond people's conscious control. First, the cost of new housing construction in the suburbs has gone up faster than the ability of young people to buy it. Naturally, the shortage of

new housing of quality makes people pay more attention to the old housing stock which exists. Most of the quality old housing is to be found in the city, and this is one of the unique features which cannot be duplicated in the newer suburbs. Second, the economics of housing have changed. In 1975, for the first time, the square foot cost of renovating apartment units was lower than the cost of new construction. It no longer entailed a financial sacrifice to renovate old buildings, either for people interested in a good living space or for people interested in making money. Third, the structure of the population has changed, with a growing proportion of young, unmarried singles or couples without children. Many of these people find city living both convenient and preferable to the singles apartment scene in the suburbs. Finally, and perhaps most important, the migration of poor people and minorities to the cities has radically declined. In fact, the pool of rural to urban migrants has largely dried up. There will never be another period like the foreign immigration of the nineteenth century or the migration of millions of rural poor of the post-World War II period. No longer are the cities undergoing the massive changes which stimulated so many of the white middle class to seek "safety" in the suburbs.

For all of these reasons, the central cities, and this includes St. Louis, are destined to revive. The revitalization of St. Louis, therefore, is not simply a question of changing the *psychology* of people.

As the city revitalizes, the psychology will change of its own accord. The objective conditions of life in the central cities have, and are, changing.

In St. Louis, the recent take-off in redevelopment activities challenges the commonly-held assumption that it is a conservative, slow-to-change place. And there is some evidence indicating that the city-hating psychology is on the run. A national survey of business executives during the fall of 1977 found most of them ranking St. Louis quite high as a good place to live and work. The low cost of living and the abundance of relatively inexpensive, high quality housing were, as expected, given as important reasons. There were also high marks for cultural amenities: the executives thought the restaurants were good; they liked the presence of professional sports teams, and they also thought that the presence of high-quality universities made it a favorable climate for cor-

porate headquarters. But many of them also asserted that St. Louis was too conservative; that its political and business leaders lacked initiative.

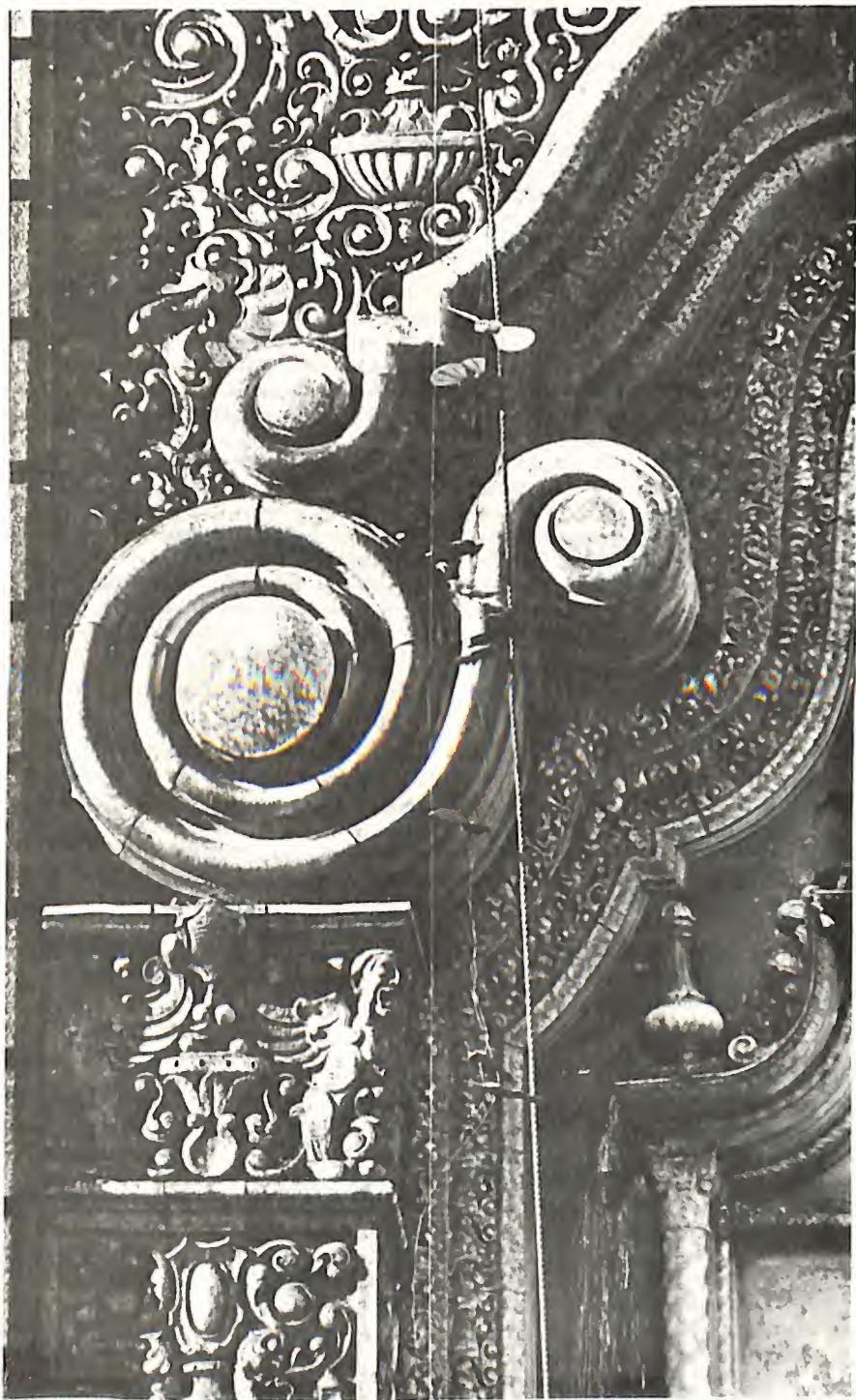
What solid evidence is there to support these executives' generally favorable comments? For one thing, it is true that the general cost of living in St. Louis is very low compared to most other cities. On a cost of living index for all items, St. Louis, in the fourth quarter of 1977, had a score of 97.8, with the average cost of living in 187 cities equalling 100. Nearly all large cities exceeded the average; with New York leading the list at 124.8, and Chicago at 114.5. The costs of housing, health care, food, and utilities are lower in St. Louis than in most big cities. The cost of renting an apartment in late 1977 (average: \$226) compared, for example, with New York (\$290), Chicago (\$337), and Kansas City (\$261). On the same income, you can buy 10-20 percent more in St. Louis than in most other cities.

It is more difficult to measure something called "comfort," a quality my New York lunch companion found so valuable. Obviously, one might find even more comfort, if this is defined as relative peace, tranquility, and a slow pace of life, in the Colorado Rockies or the Arizona desert. But she meant *comfort* with reference to city-living. Few cities offer urban amenities without substantial inconveniences of daily life. If you have a car, St. Louis is like a small town with respect to convenience: a *recent migrant from New York* observed to me that he thought *helicopters* reporting the traffic during the St. Louis rush hour were more *congested* than the highways themselves. And yet it is a city. It has a fine symphony, art museum, and zoo. Its old neighborhoods are characteristic of the great American cities; they mirror the architectural styles and ethnic patterns of settlement of the past. The claim of the city is its history, and that's what the suburbs can't duplicate. The beauty of old architecture and the reinvestment in cultural and entertainment attractions makes the city unique and irreplaceable. That is why redevelopment is taking place. To some extent, it is irrelevant what people think of the City of St. Louis. The quality of life in the city is improving, and this means that the psychology of self-hate is doomed.

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Chicago's theatre scene: hustling is a way of life

by Jill Vanneman



Hustling has invaded the arts. The lady of the night is the theater. She taunts and seduces, her restless hands waiting outstretched for money. Make no mistake, however. Even a prostitute has standards, no beggar is she. The part of the sugar daddy is becoming a more important role as corporations respond to the theater's temptations.

"Try me," teases the theater on North Halsted. "Admire my ingenuity. I used to be an ugly warehouse. Now I am a thing of beauty that brings pleasure to countless people."

"I used to be a chocolate factory," the theater on Belmont says. "If you respond to my needs, you will be rewarded. Come, give, be seen, enjoy my new plays. I will not disappoint. See the people I entertain and the people I give jobs to."

Sugar daddy takes out his bulging billfold and helps art patronage grow across the country. Business contributions to the arts have grown from \$21 million in 1967 to \$235 million in 1977, according to the New York based Business Committee for the Arts (BCA). Before 1939, there were 20 corporate foundations. Today there are over 2,000. Most of these corporate foundations were set up as philanthropic ventures in the high tax years during World War II and the Korean War.

By law, corporations can give charitable contributions up to a maximum of five percent of their taxable income. The BCA says the top one percent of the national corporate community contributes half of all corporate support for arts and cultural activities.

Chicago corporations give an estimated one to ten percent of their philanthropic contributions to the arts. The Chicago Council on Fine Arts (CCFA) anticipates a 2 percent annual increase in Chicago area corporate giving in the next two years. This would bring arts and cultural support up to \$5.7 million for 1978.

During 1976, Chicago theater groups received contributions from 23 corporations. The CCFA, established in 1976, recently surveyed 103 Chicago corporations and found opera the most seductive of all the arts to sugar daddies. Eighty-seven Chicago corporations gave generous support to Chicago opera. Dance received eight contributions.

"It's the old established vs. new routine," says Glynn R. Lawrey, general manager of the Free Street Theater. "You have to realize that Carol

Fox of the Lyric Opera has been getting money for the opera since 1954. She's good at it, too. Giving to the Lyric is a prestigious thing for patrons."

Opera has been around much longer than the not-for-profit theaters. "There have been attempts before but none as successful as what has developed in the last 10 years," Lowrey says.

Those corporations who give to the theater constitute a small minority. Three of the oldest Chicago-based sugar daddies are Inland Steel (1945), Esmark (1953), and Borg-Warner (1953).

Of the small number of off-loop theaters who receive corporate help, the same ones usually crop up on every list. These include the Organic, St. Nicholas, Travel Light, Free Street, Performance Community (Dinglefest), Evanston Theater (North Light), and Victory Gardens.

These theaters represent only a fraction of more than 100 such groups which now exist in the Chicago metropolitan area. Popularity, however, has brought decreasing prosperity.

Long-time observer and critic of the Chicago arts scene, Peter P. Jacobi, succinctly explains the economic crunch: "For every increase in demand and every response to that demand, theater and other arts groups find themselves correspondingly deeper in debt."

"On the average," William DuVall, president of the Borg-Warner Foundation and its director of public affairs says, "A non-commercial theater probably makes 40 percent of its profits at the box office. The rest must come from donations, which are increasing, but not as fast as costs." This puts the strain on theaters where it hurts the most. Subsidies and box office receipts meet less and less of the budget. Theaters tighten their belts and still try to meet the demands of artistic integrity, thus creating a chronic income gap.

Hustling. That's the game the theaters are forced to play as they seek support from private donors, government sources and individuals. Theater managers must convince potential supporters that it is their theater that can do the most with the money.

Within the last year, the St. Nicholas theater on North Halsted has increased its subscribers from zero to 1100. The budget for fiscal 1977, however, shows a deficit of \$10,000 on expenditures of \$230,000.

To struggling theaters, corporate foundation grants are particularly

appealing. Theater business managers know that even in years when company profits are low, the foundation can continue its donations out of the tax-exempt reserves paid into it in more profitable years.

Inland Steel's Ryerson Foundation's support of the arts rose to 4.4 percent in 1977. Claude J. Peck, Jr., the one-man full-time staff says. "We gave \$53,500 to 41 cultural organizations in 1976."

More interested in repeating a speech he is to give on corporations and the arts than in discussing Inland's theater record, he explains why Inland bothers to give to the arts. "The arts add quality to life. They are a corporate obligation which can turn into good business, and they create good economic activity for the corporation."

"For example," he says, "we give to the Free Street theater because they've been doing well in terms of creativeness and audience participation, especially with older people. The way they involve those 75- to 80-year-olds in the performance is just great."

Free Street was the only theater Inland supported in 1976. In 1977, grants between \$500 and \$1,000 were given to the Chicago Alliance for the Performing Arts (CAPA), the Chicago City Theater Co., the Festival Players Guild, and the Chicago Theater Group.

Lowrey says Free Street has stepped up its efforts in the last two years to get more corporate support. "It's a matter of who knows whom. Board members throw out names of people they know and corporate lists are set up as a result."

"I would hope that the corporate people who are giving to the theaters are interested in the theater and that they feel a certain responsibility to the community in which they live," Lowrey says.

"Allstate gives to Free Street because it has nationwide offices and we travel everywhere. We went to 35 states in all last year. And everywhere we go there are going to be Allstate people in the audience," Lowrey says.

When weeding through the grant applications, Peck says he looks for what the survival rate of the theater is, the source of support, members on the boards, and what the critics have to say. The biggest problem is getting out and seeing the groups who ask for money.

Yet, seeing the groups is not the only problem. The foundation board still consists of businessmen who think going to the theaters means they'll be asked onto the stage to become reluc-

tant participants. Also, who is going to trust outfits with names like Dinglefest and Travel Light?

With the influx of younger executives who are more educated about the arts, theater might have a chance.

At Esmark Foundation, all grant requests, at one time or another, go through Liz Sode, assistant to Esmark Foundation president, Robert E. Palenchar and assistant manager of corporate affairs.

Last year, Esmark received 4,000 requests for philanthropic monies. Esmark itself is a holding company with only 100 employees. "It would be impossible," Sode says, "to give to all the cities where we have facilities. That's 1100 units in the United States, and to give nationally would mean the gifts would be very minimal."

Sode is the essence of the new, younger corporate executive. She really tries to make time to get out and see the groups who submit requests. Unfortunately, her youth and energy already are snagging on the traditional business trappings. Updated figures are brought in by her secretary and investment returns. It's as if theater funding was equivalent to the its subsidiary, *Swift and Co.*

Esmark did not have money to fund theater groups until 1977, Sode says. She readily admits that it is the board's policy to give to the more established arts organizations.

Sode is impressed with theaters that have exhibited their staying power. She is especially appreciative when groups send in their balance sheets and audit statements. A little thank-you at the end of the season doesn't hurt either.

"The Northside theaters have become more fiscally responsive and more of a sound investment. They have also gotten more sophisticated in their fundraising methods," Sode says.

Esmark gave four theater grants in 1977, ranging from \$500 to \$1500 to the Organic theater, St. Nicholas, Travel Light, and the Academy Festival Theater, in the form of operating or unrestricted expenses. With the exception of one, Sode says the grants will be renewed in 1978, and two other theater requests are presently under consideration.

"In the past theaters have meant strange politics and corporations have been burned," says Peter Schneider of one of the more successful off-loop theaters, the St. Nicholas. He agrees that in the past theaters were perhaps risky to give to, but he claims all this

"All sacrificed..." by Mark Perlberg

People are going to the opera, to the symphony. The museums are crowded. Well-dressed North Shore women rush in to swanky book shops on Michigan Avenue and buy three copies of the same coffee table epics — \$60 a piece and up. Life in Chicago seems fine.

Take a closer look. The Chicago Symphony's eminent conductor spends only a few weeks of the season here, and then rushes off to conduct in Europe. The Lyric Opera just gave the world premiere of Krzysztof Penderecki's *Paradise Lost*. The music critic of the *Tribune* wrote an excellent pre-premiere article on Penderecki and his opera, and then the paper printed this headline over his review: "'Paradise Lost': Chicago's Musical Pride Regained." With the CSO and the Lyric, and other excellent combos in residence here, I didn't think we needed to worry about our musical pride. But Chicago will never drop its Second City complex.

The Pompeii show has just closed at the Art Institute, which is still looking for someone to fill the job left vacant by the death of its late director last year. *The show, itself, was more a public relations stunt than anything else,*

has changed.

"The theater has shown longevity. The Chicago arts scene is flourishing at the moment because more management people have become involved. The theater has become more prestigious."

When Schneider asks for money, he says he stresses the importance of giving to Chicago. "We're here building Chicago, by bringing more people into the city to see the plays as well as people to work for us. We're improving the quality of life here."

Borg-Warner is the Chicago leader in corporate funding of the arts. It also leads in its willingness to take risks, due primarily to the efforts of the foundation's president.

William DuVall exemplifies the businessman who is a real asset to the arts. He has a strong personal commitment to the arts and does not seem worried about the consequences or the public-relations results of the corporation's largesse.

B-W's strong commitment to the arts is shown in the foundation's 1977 arts allotment of 12 percent, way over

with Pompeii matchboxes and all sorts of similar paraphernalia on sale just outside the entrance. Inside, a few rooms were filled, and rather tastelessly, with relics — more archaeology than art — that survived the Great Eruption. On the day I visited the show, I counted 11 of those yellow and black buses jammed with school kids who were herded in from all over the city.

How many children will go away thinking museums are boring places to visit, dull as their own living rooms. I hope some of them sneaked upstairs to see some of the glories of French Impressionism or made it downstairs to the Thorne Rooms.

After tearing down one of Louis Sullivan's greatest buildings, the Chicago Stock Exchange, someone had the wit to restore and install its magnificent Trading Room in a new wing of the museum. It's a beautiful addition. I remember, when I took the eminent West Indian poet Derek Walcott to the museum to talk to kids in a class on Third World literature, he looked up at the elaborately stenciled walls and gilt columns of the room, *smiled and said, "a temple."* All sacrificed.

the average corporation gift.

Of the 120 CAPA groups, DuVall says he received requests from 50-60 of them for funds this year. "Somebody has got to give the theaters money so they can find performing spaces. By entering, we only hope to minimize the theaters' burdensome costs."

In 1977, B-W gave grants to nine Chicago theater groups, most of which were renewed grants. Recently B-W has put up \$600,000 in loans and guaranteed leases to the Organic theater, which is still in the planning stage of enlarging its facilities.

DuVall emphasizes that corporations should look at performing arts groups differently from schools or hospitals. "You have to expect to lose something ever so often. Our first experience with a theater was a total disaster. But that's the chance you take."

Once you get involved, DuVall says, it becomes easier and the risks lessen. "You begin to get acquainted with people and thus have an 'in' to what's going on. You begin to know what groups are going to make it."

The Theater Building at 1225 W.

Belmont is a source of pride for DuVall. Around 1975, B-W agreed to a three-year fiscal commitment to help a group of actors convert a chocolate warehouse into an impressive home for three black box theaters that hold 100-130 seats each. Now housed in the building are Travel Light, the Performance Community, and Pary Production Company.

Michael Cullen, managing director of Travel Light, started the company with \$52 and the efforts of 10 people. He is optimistic about the forward progression of Chicago theater and its efforts to get corporate support. This year he sent out 10 to 12 grant requests to corporations and received funding from four or five. With the average grant ranging from \$1,000 to \$5,000, that's enough to mount one production.

He is especially pleased with corporations like B-W that give money for unrestricted uses such as general operating expenses. "That's the kind of support that keeps the theater going," he says. "Being able to pay for the postage meter, air conditioning, heating bills, or even staples allows us more freedom to think about artistic quality."

The majority of the theater grants that Inland Steel, Esmark, and B-W give are in the area of general operating support. Most corporate patrons *will still only fund one production of* the season. They say the arts will never become their major philanthropic effort.

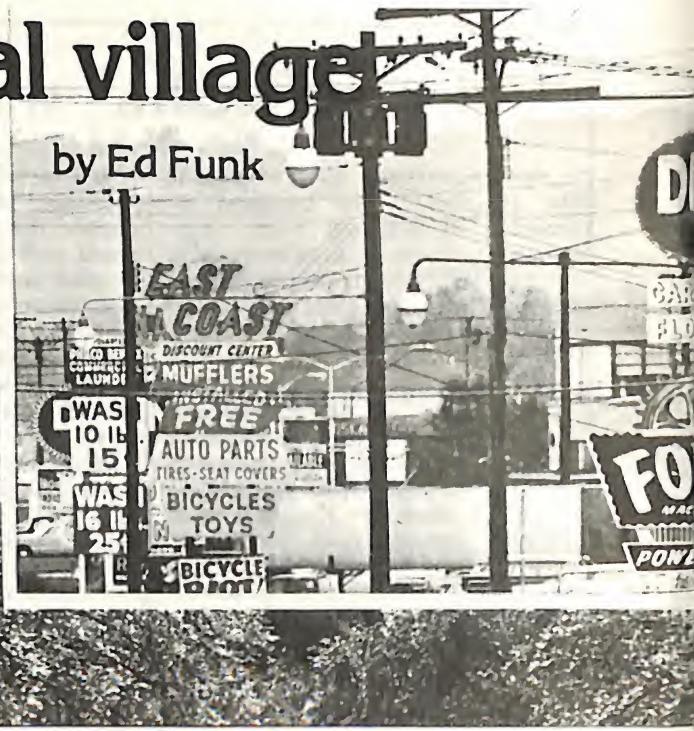
The giving will increase, DuVall says, but not fast enough to be significant. He is pessimistic and says theater managers will soon tire of patiently waiting for the meager support they do get.

"Chicago has had a chance to nurture some interesting things in the performing arts, but the theaters are not going to ebb and flow with the contributions. They can't afford to. Neither are the artists going to keep banging their heads against unreceptive walls when other cities like Portland are spreading out the welcome mat with the subsidies and more free performing space," DuVall says.

Hustling is a full-time occupation. Will the Chicago ladies of the night be content to wait upon their sugar daddies' whims? The competition is tough. Once, maybe the wallets will open but it's a constant effort to remain seductive. Other ladies are out there trying to claim daddy's wandering eye. His wallet only holds so much money and the temptations are many. Or, perhaps the lady herself will decide to leave for easier, greener streets.

death of a rural village

by Ed Funk



As a child I often listened at night or on lazy afternoons to the rhythmic clacking of a freight train cutting through the farm lands surrounding my home. It was as much a part of that rural landscape as tractors, corn and Sunday morning church services. That black monster belching smoke was part of an image from a lazy, quiet picture of post World War II mid-America. In 1948, I was eight years old and the iron horse didn't have much meaning for me, except as a vehicle for my personal fantasies — a great toy to dream about; yet, it was also a vehicle bringing a profound social and cultural change to that rural scene and the people who lived there.

The year 1948 was a quiet time, particularly in a sleepy Illinois town on the edge of Chicago's Cook County. The great war ended three years earlier. The House on Un-American Activities Commission hearings were topical, but not in this rural hamlet. The German farmers, many of whom still spoke broken English, were born and raised in or around Tinley Park. Most of their parents and grandparents emigrated from Bremen, Germany. These immigrants brought with them their language, their customs and their occupations. This town, and many of the surrounding towns, were German and Lutheran. They were populated by farmers and merchants and enough skilled labor to build houses and fix machinery, and everybody pretty much did what their parents did.

Few sons ever left, and if a daugh-

ter left, it was usually because of marriage. Few, if any, of these people understood the importance of that chugging, iron machine that bisected their town and lands. They didn't know that by 1960 this village would be just another link in the suburban chain — a sprawling, chaotic development of houses, businesses, schools and churches. The speed with which this country village became a suburban town left little room for the preservation or appreciation of the small-town ways that changed slowly over the previous one hundred years. The town lost its identity and the people had their roots swept away by a flood of urban dwellers, commercial enterprises and industry. The beginnings of that change, it seems, rode into town on the wheels of a train.

That this change happened is obviously indicated by population figures. In 1940 Tinley had a population of 1136 people. In 1900 it had a population of 300. In those intervening years, it had approximately a four hundred percent increase in population. In 1960 the town had a population of 12,382 and in 1977 it had a population of 23,500. In the thirty-seven years from 1940 through 1977, Tinley had approximately a two thousand percent increase in population.

But I was too close to this town to think of it in terms of statistics. It's personal memories that are the basis for my look at the changes imposed upon this once rural village.

I lived with my mother and father at the end of a dead end street, a

curbless, concrete strip that butted into what seemed to my eight-year-old eyes as a never-ending field of corn and soy beans. In the spring and fall, I sometimes rode on the tractors and combines that belonged on that soil. When my friends and I played hide and seek amongst the rustling corn of *early autumn*, we couldn't guess that the naked soil would, several years from then, be the sodded lawn of some transplanted urban family.

Those fields were to the west and south of my home. To the east, just five short blocks along our tree-lined street past the Studer's, Aunt Trudie and Uncle John's place, the Goebel's, the Ander's, the Yunker's, the Methodist church, the Hartmann's, the Brown's and the Village Hall, stood the center of Tinley. Heaven knows it wasn't progressive. Dad and his brother owned a tavern, a large two-story building that their Dad had owned. It was a boarding house, too. For two years the men who built Tinley's first paved road, that ran right by the tavern's front door, lived there. And it is this tavern, a tall, white clapboard building with a mahogany bar, a tin ceiling, spittoons, the smell of beer and cigars and the conversation of townsfolk that is the center of many of my memories.

The Rock Island railroad tracks, a perpendicular line that ran smack through the middle of Tinley, were located a half-block south of the tavern. Right next to the tracks was the grain elevator where many of the local farmers brought their grain to be



weighed and stored and eventually shipped to buyers. It was in this area, in the circular parking lot around the grain elevator and old Mr. Rice's office, that farmers often parked their trucks or sometimes their tractors and walked to Dad's or Teehan's tavern or Doc Cavett's drugstore or Pete's or Carl's barber shop or the Bremen bank or Vogt's store or Bettenhausen's hardware. It was here that I sometimes played on the old World War I Howitzer cannon, probably purchased by the VFW, that took up one corner of the lot. It stood in the corner nearest main street in a semi-circle of trees with a water fountain and flag pole right next to it. I often sat on that cannon in the late afternoon waiting for Dad so I could walk home with him for dinner. Sometimes I'd see Wally Goebel get off the late afternoon train and walk down 173rd street where his family lived just a half-block from our house. He was one of a handful of townfolks, like my Aunt Alma or Frank Lehman, who used the train to go to work every day.

None of the images I associated with this setting as a child had much to do with the parking lot of the late fifties, sixties and seventies, jammed with cars that now used up the same space that was taken up by useless relics like the grain elevator, Mr. Rice's office or the old cannon. Oak Park Avenue back then wasn't congested in the early morning or late afternoon with station wagons and economy cars, nor were the sidewalks crowded with shuffling workers whose break-

fast and dinner hour were determined by a railroad timetable. For me those shining rails were early examples of infinity. Parallel lines extending my imagination to the horizon. To the East never-ending people and apartments and factories and stores and trucks and cars and theatres and neon lights and restaurants and — Chicago. **To the West never-ending corn fields and tractors and faded overalls and chickens and cows and farm houses and horses and no cities.** As a child, whichever way I went skipping on or over railroad ties or walking on an iron tightrope, my imagination was inspired by those rails and their directions, but I had no conscious understanding that these two worlds would converge into a third.

In 1948, many spices still flavored the images of this country town and its people. In nostalgic moments I still watch Grandma planting her garden in the backyard of the tavern or primroses in the space along the wooden sidewalk on the south side of the building where the sun beat down hard all summer long and the red and yellow flowers crowded on one another to drink that warm sun. Inside, Grandpa would lean his chair back against a wall near the old pot-bellied stove that didn't work but wasn't a decoration either — just something left over from the pre-furnace days. He'd sit there and play his harmonica for me and my cousins and drink beer for himself. The big, cement stoop in front of the tavern was the best place in Tinley for townsfolk to sit and

watch the labor day parade with the bands and VFW marching troops and the girl and boy scout troops and the fire engines and the ladies garden club and the Future Farmers Club. That was really a time for motherhood, apple pie and the flag. Behind the tavern was one of my favorite childhood haunts. The old barn. That's where Merle and Sherry and Wanda, my cousins, and I often played. The barn was used as a livery stable years before. There was even a hitching rail in front. It hadn't been used for anything in years, but like the old stove, nobody seemed in a hurry to take it down. There was no need to — at least not until a black-topped parking lot had to be put in.

Tinley was hardly exciting. It was predictable, provincial and orderly. Its charm was its idiosyncrasies. It wasn't dynamic and details of its life did not hit you between the eyes. But it changed dynamically — suddenly — too suddenly for the town and too suddenly for an eight year old boy to have withstood it comfortably.

I don't doubt that the movement to the suburbs had its genesis before 1948, but the observable evidence began to develop then.

North of town between 171st and 167th streets, west of a large forested area, the first housing development went up. It was called Parkside. Rows and rows of houses all designed pretty much the same. They were inexpensive. Low down-payments with easily available VHA loans. Within several short years hundreds of middle and lower-middle income families had moved into these homes and most of these families were young, growing families. There were few jobs available in Tinley. Most of the working fathers and mothers had to go to more populated commercial and industrial areas to earn their money. The imagination doesn't have to work hard to realize how important the train became. More, newer, longer trains became necessary. The locomotive — a black behemoth belching smoke — was replaced by a square, unaesthetic diesel. No coal car, no fireman shoveling black coal into the red-hot furnace, no cow-catcher leading its way. The death of the locomotive was a disappointment to me, but I guess it was a functional necessity for the great lot of commuters — and there was a great lot of them.

The suburban sprawl brought with

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it several types of people whose life styles and attitudes I saw as being strikingly different than native Tinley residents. Jim Mahaffey (not Jim's real name, a pattern followed in the other examples, but the facts are accurate as I see them) was an early resident of the Parkside development. I'm sure the lawn around his house was the first generation of merion blue to replace the corn that George Hartman's (one of our neighbors along our tree-lined street) grandfather had grown there several years before. Jim was a young, ambitious salesman in his middle or late twenties. He was an affable Irishman. Dad always liked him, even when he drank too much. Mr. Mahaffey, as I called him then — courtesy was a rule of order for youngsters in these small towns, especially the children of merchants whose livelihood depended on a good reputation, or so they thought — was trying to make it up the corporate ladder. A man in the grey flannel suit. Impeccable and solid. And when he drank, he drank a martini straight-up. He had a nice, charming, young wife, who was a college graduate. He also had rosey-

cheeked children, his first home, his first mortgage and enough dreams, expectations and bills to keep him worried and drinking for too many of his waking hours.

Glenn Claussen lived on the same street as Jim Mahaffey. They know one another but they weren't friends. Glenn was a tradesman — a cement finisher. He helped build these houses in Parkside. He thought that there would be enough sidewalks and driveways and new housing developments going up in this little, hick town for him to become a small-time contractor. Besides, he liked it here. Like Jim he thought the town was quiet; the people were friendly and Tinley was a good place for his kids to grow up in. Glenn and Jim talked, but they didn't always drink together. Glenn was a shot and beer man, and he wore work clothes and work boots. He looked a little rougher and talked a little louder and wasn't as witty as Jim, and he didn't ride the train. His livelihood, of course, depended on those who did.

I had trouble being around new arrivals like Glenn Claussen. Maybe it was the way he would yell gruffly for

a beer that I seldom heard from the townspeople. Maybe it was because Dad was often angry with him and refused to serve him when he drank too much. He knew Glenn had a wife and young children at home who needed the money, or maybe it was the way he would belch so loudly and then laugh when everybody turned to look at him. He was a difficult man to be comfortable with.

Jack Roman was as much a character as any of the new group. He came a little later than Mahaffey or Claussen. He even moved into a new area of Parkside that had intruded partially on the forested area — an area that eventually was used more and more for housing. He was in his mid-thirties when he moved to Tinley. He had a wife and by the time of his move he had seven or eight children. It was an admirable human endeavor to fit eight children and two adults into thirteen hundred square feet of living space, but Jack and wife did it. Perhaps his job as a factory foreman allowed him to develop some special skill for organization, except that it escaped my attention whenever I visited their home. He and his family moved from a tough area of the city and Jack brought his attitude with him. He was tough. I think he would sooner settle an argument with a left hook than with words — *and his words were as rough as his fists*. I often believe he was working on a new image for himself that was more suited to his new environment. Like Mahaffey and Claussen, Roman wanted to be an acceptable part of the new life — living in a nice town, with friendly people and a good place to raise your kids. Jack represented the third group of new wave suburbanites who moved into town. Jim the martini drinker, Glenn the shot and beer man and Jack who drank whiskey and seven-up. I might add that by the time Jack moved in, the supermarkets and the superhighways were being built. Even though Jack used the highway for commuting rather than the train, it was no consolation. Crowded dirty streets with exhaust fumes and horn-honking drivers became part of the same landscape.

Other groups may exist in Tinley now or even in the early development of this suburb, but from my vantage point these were the people who were changing the personality of Tinley.

They often came in contact with the natives of Tinley in Dad's tavern. The mixture was incongruous. Heini Kaylor still came into the tavern then. He often came in the early afternoon,



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ordering, in his "cherman" accent, a beer with an egg and a raw hamburger with a raw onion. I never saw him next to Jim Mahaffey, but it might have been interesting to see how Jim and his martini and olive would have contrasted with Heini and his beer and egg. I often enjoyed watching Roy Frederickson, manager of an accounts payable department for a local chain of department stores, sit at one of the bar drinking his martini talking business or sports while Bill Funk, a relative, drank beer, played pinochle and spit tobacco juice into a brass cuspidor near the old, nickel-plated stove. Old Martin was still around, too. In his dirty coveralls, his tobacco-stained goatee and his fingernails black to the quick, Martin never ceased to capture my attention. He often parked his old Allis-Chalmers tractor on main street right in front of the tavern, probably right in front of Glenn Claussen's pick-up truck or Jack Roman's station wagon. And I wouldn't doubt if he didn't nudge one of those vehicles when he backed up the old A-C tractor just out of pure orneriness. He couldn't belch as loud as Hansen or hit as hard as Roman, but he had a streak of cussedness in him that only a bitter, weather-beaten, sinewy, old German farmer could have. He'd spit tobacco juice into the wind just to duck, turn **around and watch the vile, brown stuff splatter over somebody's "Sunday go to meetin' suit."**

What a cast of characters. The Mahaffeys, the Claussens, the Romans are still living out their barroom dramas, I guess. The Heini Kaylor's, the Bill Funks and the Old Martins passed from the scene just like the old village itself. By the seventies they were gone.

Along with the Irish Cheneys and the Italian Romans there had to be another significant change in Tinley. Churches. For most of my childhood, Tinley was predominantly Lutheran with the Methodists hanging in second place. The Catholics had moved in during the early forties, but they were a tolerated, second class religious group. They even had a hand-me-down building for a church. The old, one-room public school house housed the Catholics for about eight or ten years. A religious balance began to develop in the early fifties, however. The old, rickety church was sold in the late forties and by 1950 the Catholics had a new, brick church and a parochial school. The suburbanites had another focal point for their new identity.

This change in the religious character of the town was an important change for me. My mother migrated from Ireland as a young girl and came

to Chicago to live with relatives. She lived in or about the city for nearly twenty years before marrying my father and moving to our one-horse town. She brought with her a Chicago, Catholic Irish culture that was unique to Tinley. My father was born and raised in Tinley, and he was Lutheran. Catholic chauvinism demanded that my mother raise me Catholic. On occasion I went to church with Dad when he attended, but, of course, every Sunday I went with Mom to her church.

This religious dualism provided me with an introduction to the incoming suburbanites and a connection to the dying culture of Tinley as a rural village. I could play with Tom Propp because Tom and his family went to my Dad's church and we, also, went to the public school together before I transferred to St. George's new school. Tom was in the mold of old Tinley. He and I knew its rules and regulations. We both knew the social order that said most everybody in town knows me and my family. I'd better not get caught doing anything wrong. An indiscretion might embarrass Dad or Mom and then I'd get hell for it. I, also, got to know Chuck Gallagher and his brothers and sisters and Steve Roman and his family, and they were of a different mold. Their families hadn't grown and developed in Tinley. Chuck's dad worked for the railroad and often wasn't home. Steve's dad worked in the city. Their importance in Tinley was limited. These families **had yet to see themselves with any definite image within the community.**

Because of this and the environments they came from, they had different values.

Getting in trouble and getting away with it was an accomplishment, a source of pride. Deeds of daring and mischievousness brought prestige within the peer group, not embarrassment. Maybe their old man would find out and belt the hell out of them, but it wouldn't bring them any lack of prestige. During my youth I never resolved my place in this town. I came to understand both groups, yet I belonged to neither. To some extent, I've looked on that as being fortunate, but to an adolescent it became an added source of discomfort.

The train that was largely responsible for the swarm of people that came to our town was capable of taking people away. The "Rickety Rock," as we called it, was my first means of escape from Tinley. Steve Roman, Chuck Gallagher, Jim Gatrell, Joe Diamond, we often rode the train together to the larger towns bordering the city or into the city itself. We

often went to the latest shows or, during the summer, to the city swimming pools. In towns like Blue Island, I first experienced the anonymity that gave me the courage to swear aloud in public or swagger with the brashness of youth down crowded sidewalks or dart daringly in and out of traffic at crowded intersections — in short, making myself obvious in an obnoxious way. That foolhardiness on rare occasions got me in trouble with adults or other youths, but that was part of the pay-off. The adventure had to have some dangers or it wouldn't be worth it. That train took me further and further from what was becoming the bridled caution and tyranny of that changing small-town life.

By the late sixties Tinley was a full-fledged suburb. There were approximately eight housing development areas. Apartment buildings stood up overnight. Industry had moved in and commercially Tinley supported a work force hundreds of times larger than in 1948. It had, also, become a sprawling, chaotic, amorphous blob — a community without any sense of itself. There was no recipe for growth. The people blended too haphazardly. Its youth, its government, its schools, its churches had to endure some exceptionally difficult times. There seemed to be too many breakdowns in the order of things: schools, municipal governments and churches. Although social institutions had difficulties coping with the changes, industrial and commercial institutions continued to prosper. By the mid-seventies there seemed to be some settling of the town's personality. The police began to cope with out-of-hand juveniles who at one time had the upper hand over the town's authority structure. Discontent in some of the town's churches was being resolved as the parishioners rid themselves of what they thought were "old-fashioned, unresponsive pastors." But I'm not sure even of this. My association with the town weakens continually as relatives and friends and even buildings change or leave. Ironically that iron horse that had so much to do with the change in Tinley is itself dying out. The Rock Island is often in debt, continually seeking government help. I often wonder if many of the people and investors that it helped bring to that once sleepy hamlet of post-war America give a damn. And so Tinley and its people and landmarks no longer inspire my imagination like it once did. It can't, not after it changed my reality.

the new Kansas City: it glitters, what else?

by Dale A. Neuman

America is Rediscovering Her Cities," "The New Romance with City Life," "Urban Renaissance" — these themes are starting to recur in the midst of the more general complaint about urban blight and the changing social base of urban America. Are such assertions more reflective of hope than mirrors of reality? Or, if they do indeed catch hold of a glimmer of reality, is it that we tend to see more clearly a few shining (or not yet tarnished) examples that stand out against the dominant background of neglect and decline? And what is to follow from this new romance often signified by gem-like proposals to remarry parts of the community? Do we find renewed community life or do we find bastard-like offsprings conceived in spur-of-the-moment actions to be neglected and abandoned as blights in their own right?

Kansas City is a good example of the new optimism. It is heralded as "one of the few truly livable cities left" in its Prime Time national publicity program. It has been called "the Dallas of the Seventies" as the new 200 million dollar Kansas City International Airport, the 70 million dollar Harry S. Truman Sports Complex featuring separate stadia for major league baseball and national league football, the Kemper Sports Arena for major league basketball and hockey, the H. Roe Bartle Exposition Center, the new Hospital Hill Complex with mostly new construction including a new general hospital and the UMKC Medical School, and Crown Center — the Hallmark 200 million dollar "community within the community" have all come "on line" in the last decade.

And, to be accurate, Kansas City may not be a good example (or should I say "bad example?") of urban decline. It is true that the Kansas City school system is in financial trouble and its students perform among the poorest in the state on standardized

tests. It is also true that an elaborate system of wide boulevards and coherent street grid system when joined to some interstate highways have encouraged the processes of suburbanization here as elsewhere. Private urban transit has been replaced by the heavily subsidized Area Transportation Authority. Private as well as public physical plant has deteriorated with one recent study alleging that all but one of some twenty street viaducts in the downtown area were unsafe. Local voters have been reluctant to authorize bonds for non-glamorous items repeatedly defeating street, sewer, flood control, library, museum, and jail levies.

But Kansas City is also a relatively new city barely into its second century. It has grown out rather than up. Low density housing outnumbers high density housing. Annexation on the Missouri side minimized "balkanization" and has permitted a somewhat coherent approach to many of the problems that plague other and older metropolitan areas. Neighborhood associations, community groups and some local developers have acted to create situations designed to deter decline and, hopefully, to foster renewal.

No story of the developmental character and history of Kansas City would be complete without mention of the pioneering (and profitable) efforts of the J. C. Nichols Company in planned and controlled neighborhood development best reflected in the Country Club Plaza area. This area, purported to be the world's first (circa 1925) suburban shopping center, became the hub of numerous (now urban) residential areas of the "Country Club District." Homes associations created at that time continue to monitor property maintenance, arrange for services and help fight city hall when necessary. This concept has been recreated elsewhere in the newer developments around shopping-service clusters

that now dot the city and its suburbs. Hence the assertion earlier that Kansas City *may not be "good"* as a "bad example" of the problems that frustrate the promise of urban life.

In fact, systematic redevelopment and revitalization efforts were organized and promoted by private entrepreneurs during the same period as the massive public facilities construction was begun. Several reasons account for the major role played by the private sector in this activity. First, the use of federal urban renewal monies was limited to the extent local voters were reluctant to authorize bond levies for the local share of such projects. But more important — and central to the discussion of the three cases considered in this article — Missouri law (dating from 1943) provides for private redevelopment through a combination of the conferral of the power of condemnation to the developer and a mandatory tax abatement for the development. The basic requirements are that the area be declared "blighted" and the redevelopment plan be approved by the appropriate authority — in this case the Kansas City (Mo.) City Council. The tax abatement provisions permit tax on the land only at its undeveloped value during the first ten years after redevelopment begins. Buildings are not taxed for the first ten years and are only taxed at 50 per cent of appraisal-base value for the next fifteen years after they come on line. And, in a project built in several stages, the tax abatement mechanics can spread the reduction of a developer's tax liability over a longer period than the nominal 25-year limit in the law. Indirect subsidy to development is granted in return for the investment and the prospect of an ultimately more productive tax base.

Many questions may be asked of such efforts to revitalize urban areas. What makes for success or failure? Can



such projects be judged against their own goals and promises? What impact has the effort had in the target area? What impact has it had on the broader community? And, in the context of this article, is Kansas City "a more livable city" because of these "redevelopments?"

The three projects examined below are Crown Center, River Quay (pronounced River Key) and Westport. Crown Center is the "cracker box" project with all new construction — "skyscrapers set on their sides" championed as a "model urban community concept" by its promoters, architects and a very receptive set of city fathers.

This project was to be located on a natural outcropping that had heretofore lent itself mostly to the development of numerous billboards and to the designation "signboard hill." River Quay (meaning "shops at river's edge") and Westport are the "cracker barrel" projects based upon preservation and restoration of historic landmark buildings dating to the founding of Kansas City. The restored buildings in both areas were intended to house shops and services akin to their original purposes. New construction was to be compatible with and integrated into the existing physical plant. Westport and River Quay were to give Kansas City a sense of its "roots," provide homes for the arts and crafts industries, and an opportunity for families to stay in or return to the "heart of the city."

Ground-breaking ceremonies for Crown Center were held September 16, 1968. But the groundwork for the project dates back to the early 1950s and the idea probably dates to an even earlier time in the dreams of Joyce Hall of Hallmark Cards. General plans were set by 1955 and land acquisition began in 1957. A national real estate development management firm was retained to oversee these preliminary steps in 1958 and an executive of that firm was assigned full-time to the project in Kansas City by 1961. The first general public announcement appeared in banner, front-page headlines on January 4, 1967.

The period from January through March of 1967 reflects the concerted and assertive efforts of the development's sponsors and supporters to get the authorization necessary to qualify and proceed under the Missouri law. When owners of newer properties complained about their inclusion in the "blighted" district and threatened

litigation, the City Council sweetened the incentives to them through requiring "cost of relocation" expenses to be paid. When officials in the planning, transportation and education sectors of government raised questions about the attendant costs including current tax loss, they were bombarded with data on the projected long-term increase in tax revenues as well as reminded that other new developments in the neighboring Hospital Hill area had created but not "paid for" transportation and other service load increases. When other would-be developers complained that tax abatement for Crown Center put them at a disadvantage and could deter redevelopment in the downtown center, they were informed that the city had already lost several other redevelopment projects because of "footdragging."

The City Planning Commission gave its approval in late February, 1967 and the City Council unanimously approved the necessary redevelopment ordinance on March 31, 1967 with its members halting the proceedings to commend the developer and, as the press noted, to "... extol the benefits..." of the project. Within a year there were to be complaints that the City was "in a fix" because of the projected costs for street realignment that would not be paid by the developer. And when City officials began to take more deliberate actions to assess the possible impact of subsequent requests for approval to plan modifications, Crown Center officials used the threat of reduction in the size of the project to hurry those decisions along.

A galaxy of architects including Edward Larabee Barnes and Victor Gruen was assembled and assigned phases of the project. Other nationally prominent persons renowned for moving novel concepts to exciting conclusions were consulted by the Halls. Local media claimed that Crown Center marked the "beginning of a new era" in Kansas City.

The final concept (albeit the "final" plans and scale models have changed several times) was to be a privately financed urban renewal community covering 85 acres with 2,400 apartment units, one million square feet of office and retail space, a 750-room luxury hotel, 7000 parking spaces with 75 percent of the land to be used for a "park-like setting" to "pamper people." Entertainment and cultural opportunities were to be a major component. While 8,000 residents would constitute "the community" at Crown Center, 50,000 persons would constitute the daytime population of Crown

Center upon completion. The estimated tax abatement savings to the developer would be about 28 million dollars over a 37-year period while actual tax revenue on demolished buildings would be reduced about \$660,000 between 1970-1979. By 1983 this latter amount would be recovered and property tax revenues through 2006 were estimated at over 20 million dollars. Total tax revenue to the city, given its earnings, sales and property taxes, was predicted to be near 100 million dollars by the year 2000. Subsequent redefinition of the project's boundaries to include under tax abatement a new 30-story Mutual Benefit Life office building and a new Hyatt House Hotel complex renewed the several debates about the "real" costs of the procedure. In 1972, *Business Week* awarded Crown Center Corporation its "Good Citizenship Award" for its "social responsibility."

The construction of the project was marked and delayed by several lengthy labor disputes. This led to allegations that the very size of the project and the several labor settlements combined to inflate costs in the entire local construction market. Building plans were adjusted to reflect changing markets for commercial and residential space. Where the original plans anticipated a 90-percent-apartment-10-percent-condominium mix, revised plans put the mix at 50-50. In 1973, when the nation's economy slowed, residential construction was deferred. A 1975 local editorial criticized those who were raising questions about the apparent advantages given Crown Center arguing that in whatever might benefit the project, "the community at large" would benefit.

What has been the impact of Crown Center on life in Kansas City? Clearly, the mere presence of the Center with its hillside hotel commands the attention of visitors and residents alike. The use of the hotel as a candidate headquarters during the GOP National Convention in 1976 did not hurt its image. The use of the open-air tree-shaded Crown Center Square for ethnic festivals, musical programs, charity carnivals, and winter-time ice skating attracts people from all over the metro area. The "West End" artisan shops, the ethnic restaurants, and the "top of the line" style shops provide for a range of tastes and interests. The Multi-Media Forum, use of vacant retail space for art exhibits, and the establishment of Park College at Crown Center (an "alternate learning" concept) are evidence of the efforts to hold true to the original concept.

But all may not be as the devel-

opers might prefer. A number of the West End shops have closed as have some of the "style" shops. Proprietors have been heard to complain about lease costs and that there are more browsers than buyers moving through the retail complex. With deferral of some of the residential units, the projected target population of 8,000 is not likely to be met. Although the nearby projected Pershing Square Redevelopment has plans for a museum and federal offices and could improve the demand for retail and residential space in Crown Center, it is still a paper project. Without a "stable community" base in the Center and relying more and more on transient trade, the original concept may be giving way to one more reflective of an office, service base center. Such flexibility has always been present in this development.

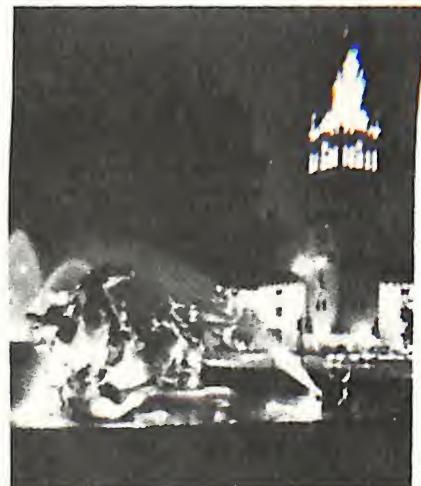
Crown Center's impact on its immediate neighborhood was to displace some small businesses, deteriorated housing and some older loft-based industries. It has generated traffic and altered the traffic flow patterns in adjacent areas. The tax abatement method has been envied if not emulated in other areas as local resident opposition and leadership reluctance have limited its appeal. But, in general, Crown Center is a source of pride and likened to Rockefeller Center. Hallmark is perceived as a good corporate citizen. Since the project has yet to be completed and the Pershing Square Development is not yet off the paper no measure of total impact is feasible. Suffice it to say that the project has combined a concept with considerable capital and effective control to make it interesting and attractive to middle- and upper-class Kansas Citians — as its current advertisement proclaims: "We've got style." Whether there is or can be a sufficient sense of community generated in the apartment-condominium complex is doubtful. There is no doubt that Crown Center is a "show piece" but as those in Westport worry and those who were in River Quay now know, that concept is potentially troublesome.

Volume one, number one, of the "River Quay Journal" announced the "Grand Opening" of River Quay June 30-July 1, 1972. *The Kansas City Times* headlined its story of April 4, 1977: "Darkness Closes in on the River Quay Night Life" and writes of "rotting canopies, broken windows and darkened storefronts of a grand idea...." In 1972 the River Quay was said to be "...a community developed

to offer leisure, cultural entertainment and shopping pleasures." In 1977, a restaurant, several go-go bars and an X-rated movie house remained to provide the leisure, culture and pleasure to be found there.

The River Quay was the brainchild and profit plan of Marion Trozzolo, a college professor turned businessman and developer. Trozzolo began property acquisition in the Quay area in 1960 and by 1972 owned almost 500,000 square feet of space in the name of his River Quay Holding Company. Trozzolo's concept was to purchase the sound but low-priced buildings after having found a suitable tenant for the space — a tenant who would contribute a product or service in keeping with the Quay idea. While Trozzolo would refurbish the building's exterior, the tenants were responsible for restoring the interiors. Located adjacent to the City's "Farmers' Market" with its several large parking lots and a visitor attraction in its own right, the River Quay was expected to become Kansas City's "newest and oldest shopping center." Trozzolo's tenants spoke of their sense of community while his business associates called it "a clever idea."

Throughout 1972, as renovation and new business openings proceeded, the River Quay was a hub of small town fun in the heart of the city. Art exhibits were set up; watermelon was



Country Club Plaza

sold by the slice; barbershop quartets in straw hats sang on the streets and people learned that River Quay had almost been named "Possum Trot." The press reported conversations with some of the 3,000 people found there on a Saturday. Those interviewed compared it favorably with Chicago's "Old Town" and Los Angeles' "Ports O' Call." In November, *The Kansas City Star* would write that the Victoria Street Station was "the 39th new business to be established in the revived

section of Old Town since last spring." In December, *The Kansas City Star Magazine* would feature the River Quay and report "a real feeling of community" and suggest that "the metropolis was once again lured to the spot from whence it came." Places like "Dinkeldorf's Deli" and "Mom and Apple Pie Toys Inc." were in business; developers spoke of a possible riverfront marina at the site of the original Westport landing while helping to begin an "old trains" museum down the street.

The entertainment and nightlife columns of the local press covered widely and generally favorably the entertainment to be found in the River Quay. Doubt turned to confidence; success brought more success at getting new business to locate in the historic buildings of the site. Supply and demand — which were to become economic catchwords later in the quest for liquor licenses — quickly became facts of life for candlemakers and leather crafters. Rents that had ranged from 5 to 75 cents per square foot prior to 1972 were ranging between 2 and 6 dollars per square foot by June 1973 with over 60 businesses in operation. Local banks and the Small Business Administration were involved in much of the financing for these beginning participants. Even the Area Transportation Authority got involved by extending the routes of the "Dime-a-Time" buses into the River Quay by August 1973.

In late October 1973, city newspapers carried accounts of the sale of the major part of Trozzolo's holdings in the River Quay to Joseph Canizaro, a New Orleans waterfront developer. Trozzolo was to be retained as an officer and consultant to the new development corporation that was formed. By late January 1974, Canizaro's 10-year plan for the River Quay development was presented to city officials. *The Kansas City Star* reported on January 22, 1974, that the developer stressed his need for control over the whole development writing: "The type of control Canizaro spoke of involves a master plan, zoning to assure that such a plan is followed and efforts to maintain the area's quality...." By mid-June the Master Plan had been outlined as a two-phase program to first restore the old Delaware Street stores and then to construct along the riverfront a marina, some high rise apartments and a hotel. The powers and provisions of the Missouri redevelopment law were to be employed with initial financing to come from local banks.

At the same time, the developer complained that too many liquor licenses (22) had already been issued for the area and publicly wished that the Helping Hand Institute (a transient care facility located several blocks to the east of Delaware Street but astride one of the gateway streets to the River Quay) would or could be moved elsewhere.

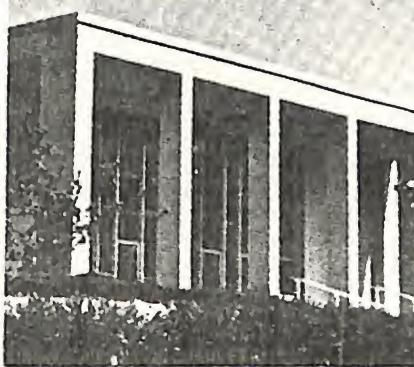
In less than a month Canizaro was besieged by complaints. Those whose businesses were in properties already controlled feared higher rents while those who owned properties in the area feared the prospect of condemnation under the law. Low cost space already converted to residential use was to be returned to commercial use. Higher rents were deemed justified and supportable by the developer who predicted a "ten-fold" increase in business volume given his plans for a 30-million-dollar investment in the River Quay.

By mid-July headlines read: "Uncertain Future" and captions proclaimed "Waves of Dissent Buffet River Quay" as the bar owners called the master plan a "street sweeper" plan and the shopkeepers called it a "rent gouging" plan. On September 17, 1974, it was reported that Canizaro had given up his efforts to use the Missouri law and that city officials were pleased. Five days later the River Quay celebrated its Third Annual Fall Festival with square dancing and jazz concerts.

By January 1975, people were referring to the River Quay as the entertainment center of Kansas City. By mid-August, a new building designed for an X-rated theater was begun and the mayor was suggesting the creation of a "combat zone" at the edge of River Quay as a limit for bars and adult entertainment in the face of the city's legal inability to otherwise prohibit their emergence in River Quay. September brought allegations of arson in several major fires in Quay bars along with the destruction by shotgun blasts of the windows of one store owner who filed a complaint against an unlicensed vendor doing business in the area. Total business was reported to be up 40 percent but almost daily expressions of concern appeared in news items in the media. Around this same time speculation that the project's finances were in trouble were boosted by an alleged comment of Trozzolo that the Quay would soon go bankrupt without help.

By November, city officials were pledging tighter controls, more curbs on businesses in the area, new zoning regulations and additional services. It

was even reported that they had once more suggested redevelopment under the Missouri law for a consortium of local property owners. At this point it also became clear that a regulatory body of major importance to the problems now facing the River Quay, the Liquor Control Board, had pledged allegiance to free enterprise and decided against the city's attempt to limit the number of liquor licenses in



Truman Library

the area and to judge the character of those who might hold such licenses. Two of the three members of this board were or had been "of counsel" to parties with economic interests in its rulings.

In April 1976, several Kansas City banks foreclosed on mortgages on properties owned by the Quay Corporation. In May, a financial reorganization plan was announced. The *Star* commented that what was to have been a 30-million-dollar project was now a "shoe string operation" operating from "month to month." The city had even turned off the water for lack of payment. County and federal grand juries were reported to have begun probes into the dealings in River Quay, probably prompted by one of several murders of tavern owners in the Quay. The probe spread beyond the city to Jefferson City and Chicago.

On September 16, 1976, it was reported that Trozzolo had sued Canizaro for damages resulting from a "misrepresentation" and "conspiracy" that caused him to lose over one million dollars as well as "control over the direction and development of the River Quay area." By early October, Canizaro's new holding company, Riverside Properties, filed for protection under Chapter 10 in Federal District Court. On November 2, the *Kansas City Times* carried, in effect, two River Quay stories. One reported that the Chapter 10 petition had been denied on the grounds that Riverside Properties had been insolvent upon incorporation. The second indicated

that Canizaro had announced a new 500 million dollar project planned for the New Orleans waterfront. According to the story, Canizaro called the River Quay "a bad dream" and its problems "insignificant" in his total operations. Lack of local support was also noted. The mayor appealed for a local developer to pick up the pieces but noted that Westport was now competing for the same kind of development interest.

More litigation and further inquiries followed in early 1977. In late March a massive dynamite blast leveled two bars and so damaged other buildings that businesses in them had to close or move. The issue was no longer whether there would be more bars in River Quay but whether they were to feature go-go girls. By late April, from a high of over 80, there were now but about a dozen businesses still open in the entire area. A consultant to the city recommended that the city stop using the name "River Quay" and the local press noted editorially: "Quay Better Off with Bums and Winos" if given a choice.

In June the *Star* printed an analysis of the Quay's condition by the original developer Trozzolo. Several factors were perceived as contributing to the failure: "loss of concept" (which was to have been a small business community but became an entertainment center); lack of local financial support (bankers who talked positively about River Quay but were unwilling to back it with deeds and dollars); a negative image (the mayor's suggestion of a "combat zone" became a deterrent to prospective patrons or proprietors). The slowing of the nation's economy was also alleged to have dried up development monies from other sources. Even the *Washington Post* took time to note that "...Something Went Terribly Wrong in River Quay."

By March 1978, local financial institutions had allegedly "red-lined" the Quay area against further loans. In June, the River Quay area was put on the list of the Registry of National Historic Places under the name: "Old Town Historic District."

Much of the impact of River Quay is chronicled above. But several features stand out. It presents graphic evidence of redevelopment problems in the absence of sufficient capital and control. It tells all too clearly what happens when a concept gets adulterated. It sadly describes what happens to an emergent "bootstrap community" when the profit motive sets in. Even some of Trozzolo's earliest land acquisitions seemed to anticipate capitalizing upon the possibility that the city and county would construct a

sports arena nearby — which they did not do.

Violence to human sensibilities had always been present in River Quay. The Helping Hand Institute was not there by accident. And almost annually a story would appear describing transients "feasting" on the refuse in the garbage bins at the Farmers' Market. But the murders of one of the original shopkeepers and then of several members of families competing over control of the parking lots that would allow them to qualify for liquor licenses proved to be too much. Fear for personal safety in the wake of building-leveling fires and bombings kept away those whose patronage was needed for the area to stay solvent. The several grand jury probes turned again and again to certain persons alleged to be the local under world leaving a clear impression that mob warfare was taking place and Quay was the battleground.

Italo-Americans in Kansas City got a black eye practically everytime a new item appeared about the now current events in River Quay. And this was to have the unfortunate consequence of raising ethnic prejudice to the status of an issue in the redevelopment of Westport where one of the active participants is supposed to have remarked that everytime an Italian name appeared on a loan or a license application, he feared that the River Quay was being recreated in Westport.

For a number of years prior to the 1960s residents and friends of Westport celebrated "Westport Days" marking the first settlement in what is now Kansas City. (This area also gave its name to one of the major battles of the Civil War fought south and east of the settlement area.) These celebrations were part of a continuing effort by local history buffs to uncover and promulgate the history of the area and its buildings. The Westport area — unlike River Quay — had an ongoing residential base in single and multiple family dwellings. It had been by-passed by much post-depression construction since the area was sandwiched between major traffic arteries. The Westport area — like the River Quay — had a number of historic buildings some of which already housed small businesses and had been restored to handle an arts and crafts trade. Churches early formed the base for community action organizations. During the decade, 1968-1978 numerous neighborhood coalitions of residents and businesses

emerged to argue issues and urge actions perceived in the interest of neighborhood maintenance in Westport and its surroundings.

In late 1969, the Westport Community Council, amid rumors of purported plans to redevelop in the area on the scale of another Crown Center and with alleged plans to expand the trafficways that traversed or bounded the area, requested of the Kansas City Council that it proclaim "...municipal policy to preserve that area known as the Westport Community in which all types of persons with varied life styles can reside, including particularly families with children of school age." In addition, it was requested that the Community Council be actively consulted in the development of any plans (including rezoning) which might be necessary to carry out the policy.

Events in mid-1970 reflected the forces at work in Westport. The city did indeed step up enforcement of city ordinances in the area but against shopkeepers who had installed signs and benches on the sidewalks near their businesses. While this "skirmish of Westport" was quickly settled, it seemed to suggest that city officials misunderstood the role expected of them. Another event was the presentation of a proposal by a group of Kansas University planning students — a class project — which was a development plan for Westport. The research for the plan included a social survey of residents and businesses that might be included in such a redevelopment.

Almost two years to the day of the original request by the Westport Community Council for a city policy on Westport, the City Planning Department produced a 112 page "Westport Plan." The *Star* wrote of the document "Westport Plan Presents Alternative to Suburbia" and noted its emphasis on residential quality. A series of public hearings on the document was moved from city hall out to Westport and held in early 1972. Several hundred persons attended — some to support and some to oppose (especially those who saw loss entailed in rezoning to lower-density utilization). The proposed plan also called for extending the protective umbrella of the "historic landmark designation" to a number of buildings in the area. On August 11, 1972, the Kansas City Council approved the Westport Planning Area Plan.

By the end of 1972, Joseph Shaunessey, Jr., a city councilman and architect as well as a property owner

St. Louis — continued from page 16

Investigative reporting during the past decade has not improved the media's coverage of the governmental bottom line: the quality of life and the public sector's attempts to improve it. Instead, the typical investigative report — the stuff of which Pulitzer Prizes are made — had dealt with corruption: who paid whom to get what. Although there is much virtue in identifying corrupt politicians, the implicit message to governmental officials — don't worry about how your action affects citizen's lives if your procedures are honest — is disconcerting.

How we see affects what we do. How St. Louisans define growth and view public administrators affects how we grow and what public administrators do. As of today, the way St. Louis is growing and the manner in which the public sector is being managed are both thwarting St. Louis' move toward a better quality of life. Unless they change, St. Louis' glittering appearance will continue to be deceiving.

St. Louis Mayor comments on Newsweek big city studies



In response to a *Newsweek* article on the revitalization of the nation's big cities, Mayor James F. Conway of St. Louis wrote to *Newsweek*:

"... Our 'newly completed Alfonso J. Cervantes Convention Center' is now two years old and well-booked... but that's not all that is new Downtown. How about our \$367 million in new Downtown construction in the past eleven years. And our \$150 million Urban Development Action Grant mall that's coming. Some 10 distinct neighborhoods are blossoming with revitalization. New housing starts? Try 2000 expected in 1979, compared with just 14, six years ago.

Our City budget is balanced and always has been; no layoffs of municipal employees are anticipated and only 10% of general operations rely on Federal funds. . . ."

in the Westport vicinity, proposed to implement the plan through creation of a resident and area-business controlled "Housing Rehabilitation Corporation" to work within the Missouri redevelopment law. And in January of 1973 a "cleanup coalition" of ten neighborhood and business associations was formed to push for such a corporation. At about the same time the already-begun efforts of the Westport Square Development Corporation "...a partnership on the redevelopment with Business Men's Assurance Capital Corporation..." were featured in an article in the *Kansas City Star*. An interesting and important point overlooked by many is that one of the top officials of BMA had long been active in the historic society which was identifying and designating historic sites in Westport. 1974 brought neighborhood "Rap Sessions" to Westport during which one resident is quoted in the press as claiming that while the neighborhood may not be the world's best, it did have "a great sense of community feeling." Several special events were held to recall Westport's history and a neighborhood park was dedicated.

In late 1974, the numerous rezoning measures necessary to implement the 1972 plan were revealed and a range of opposition began to surface. By early 1975, opponents of the plan were threatening litigation while the question of the power of condemnation became an issue in the upcoming city council election campaign. Supporters of the plan appealed to the need for stability while opponents invoked property rights arguments. During this same period — almost as if to demonstrate how insensitive the federal government can be — the U.S. Postal Service announced plans to demolish seven single family residences to expand its parking area at the Westport branch post office. Although a spokesman claimed the proposal to be a response to parking congestion (a neighborhood complaint), area groups quickly pointed out that the demolition would be contrary to the overall 1972 plan. They later were to obtain an injunction in Federal Court to block the demolition.

On January 1, 1976, it was reported that the Landmarks Commission had voted to ask the City Council to not adopt the proposed Westport rezoning measures which would also create the Old Westport Historical District. Several days later, the *Times* was to editorially call for "Another Try at Westport" noting the neighborhood division over the issue, agreeing that the originally planned-for area was too

large and too diverse, and that some parts had "had little or nothing to do with the long history of Westport." By mid-May, the *Star* was proclaiming "Old Westport to Live Again," writing: "Westport, the site of intensive efforts to renovate old business and residential areas, will be celebrated, toured and touted during Westport Week. . . ."

Spokesmen for various neighborhood groups participated in metropolitan area-wide planning committees especially those dealing with housing. The availability of residential mortgage money in older areas like Westport was found to be limited and this was seen as inhibiting the Westport concept. Along with the annual historic celebration, other "tours" were promoted to display Westport to the rest of the city.

Almost as if it were a law of development that some issues must inevitably arise, the question of the number of liquor licenses to be issued (and to whom) appeared in January 1977. The attractive qualities of Westport and the decline of the River Quay brought increased crowds and nightlife. Citing Quay as their rationale, Westport spokesmen urged that no more permits be issued. Recent judicial decisions were believed to have given the city more discretion in this matter and city officials were asked to use their new powers. By May 1, it was reported that the City Development Department had studied ways to avoid "decay" in Westport giving as explanation for "decay" in River Quay the argument that it underwent "too rapid transition." This was to be avoided in Westport. A week later a 90-day moratorium on liquor licenses to the area was proposed and two weeks after that it was adopted by City Council. (Three Council members had to abstain since they were themselves holders of liquor licenses with at least one in Westport.) This action by the city was applauded by those in Westport and criticized by those who wanted in. The debate over licenses called forth a discussion of images with pro-control supporters noting that image preceded reality in River Quay — a situation they wished to forestall in Westport.

In the ensuing debate and maneuver that defined the licensing controversy, traffic congestion and parking became technical handles employed to delay action. By late summer, the deferred parts of the rezoning plan were again before City Council as was the pending expiration of the liquor moratorium. Spokesmen for Westport groups noted how uncertainties over both these

questions were adversely affecting the area's progress. But by year's end several new businesses had opened, the moratorium had been extended and the Westport Community Council gave out its first three "Spirit of Westport" awards.

Early 1978 saw renewal of the liquor debate further complicated by allegations that one applicant, the son of a municipal judge, had had his father running interference for him. Westport groups pledged financial support to litigate to retain the restrictions. With 32 licenses already issued for Westport, City Council was again under pressure to continue the moratorium indefinitely. This fight was now led by a private developer who had bought out the BMA share of the Westport Square Development Corporation. But in June 1978 the moratorium was allowed to expire. City officials expressed confidence that they had sufficient powers to control things while Westport leaders expressed doubt that they could. The *Times* chided the city editorially and one long-time Westport business owner complained that Westport had been turned into "a night spot, not a community."

What has been the impact of the Westport experience? Several observations come to mind. Westport proves that neighbor organization can help shape a redevelopment concept even if they may not be able to completely control its shape. The presence of an existing residential community provided many voices and the prospect of many votes — something city officials tend to notice. A number of the businesses in Westport were already established and going concerns not like the new, "first ventures" that were in River Quay. This left them less vulnerable to financial pressures and, possibly, less attracted to quick profit proposals. That the Country Club Plaza was a near neighbor may have commanded more attention to the questions and concerns of Westport spokesmen than might otherwise have been the case. And the long standing interest and activities of several historical societies gave Westport a tradition to identify with. There were a number of forceful articulate spokesmen for Westport rather than the one or two identified in the River Quay experience with the burdens of leadership shared accordingly.

Whether Westport has remained true to its original concept is open to debate but it does remain a place of interesting shops, nightclubs, small businesses and residential areas. While divided control is blamed for the

demise of Quay and unified control as contributing to the success of Crown Center, what can we say about Westport? Westport is marked by "diversified" control among property owners (no one of whom has a dominating position), churches, neighborhood associations and business interests. Residents share in this control through their political power as voters. While financial matters are questions of concern to Westport, the scale of investment is much less grand than that claimed for Quay or present in Crown Center. Two million dollars was the price tag put on Westport Square Development. So capital availability and cash flow, while always problematic, may have been less so in Westport. But probably most important is the power that a sense of community spirit can engender. Westport had a community base; it did not have to create one. Organize it did; and act it did. This reserve of support and motivation may prove to be the prime factor in the equation for success whatever the mode of urban "renewal."

Is Kansas City "a more livable city" because of Crown Center, the Old Town Historic (néé River Quay) District and Westport?

It is debatable. Good and seemingly bad intentions run together; good and bad results are evident. Whether displacing persons or destroying hopes, all redevelopment exacts a toll. The creation of jobs helps. So does the presence of what I have called the "arts and crafts" industries. Zoning battles that turn ultimately on ethnic issues do not help. Redevelopments that mostly provide for the cultural interests and entertainment of suburban residents (without seducing them "back to town to live") seems more like old business in a new location. But it may be that we stand too close in time to battles of redevelopment with the victories yet to come. Possibly it would be most appropriate to ask our questions of Crown Center and Westport after they are no longer thought of as re-development efforts but rather as parts of the city. If we can ever come to such a point then we might even be able to determine what precisely they contribute to the quality of Kansas City life.

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Coming: Corporate Payoffs

What the public record reveals about the major corporations in Missouri and Illinois.

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NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

judging American Cities:



an elusive goal

Many modern writers on "the quality of life" in American cities are quick to acknowledge that this topic has a long and venerable history. Paraded across the stage are such impressive figures as the biblical *Joshua*, the scholarly *Aristotle*, the Muslim philosopher *Ibn Khaldun*, the political theoretician *Marx*, the statesman *Tocqueville*, and that agrarian stalwart of democracy *Thomas Jefferson*, each pronouncing deep interest in the quality of urban life. Having duly established a respectable lineage for such concerns, studies of the quality of urban life often proceed to rank, rate, rave over, or rail against a grab bag of city characteristics thought to be part of the *tout ensemble* of the good life. Such studies abound in both academic and popular literature, differing primarily by the pretensions surrounding the academic work. What, indeed, do contemporary studies have to say about the quality of life in midwestern cities?

Having lost sight of the fundamental philosophical nature of the historical concern with the *city as an idea*, recent researchers have turned their attention to the measurement question: How can we measure the quality of life provided by urban environments? Such a question is of obvious importance to a nation with more than 75 percent of its population in urban areas and a constitutional mandate to promote and enhance the "general welfare" of the population. Furthermore, recent disenchantment with such sacred indicators of national well-being as the Gross National Product (GNP) has created, both in academic and policy-making circles, feverish interest in the whole field of "social indicators" research. Measuring the quality of urban life is a logical extension of the focus on the development of national social indicators —

and equally fraught with problems. In the spirit of *caveat emptor* a brief look at some of these problems in the quality of urban life research is a necessary prelude to our review of the literature.

The obvious place to begin is with the central concept, "Quality of Life." On this there is consensus among scholars, policy-makers, and the general public; no adequate definition of the concept exists! Instead, we have vague notions that a sense of well-being on economic, social, political, physical, emotional, environmental and demographic dimensions (to name only a few) somehow cumulate to produce an overall ranking of the "quality of life." When it comes to cities, we are often presented with a catalog of statistics (e.g. from the literature — crime rates, movie-houses per 1000 residents, density per acre, tax rates, motorcycle registrations per 1000 residents, incidences of modern dance performances, population growth rates, *Who's Who* entries per 100,000 residents, miles of trails per 100,000 residents, etc., etc.) that simply add up or are combined by some mystifying statistical legerdemain into an index of urban quality of life.

Along with the fuzzy logical structure of the quality of life concept comes a companion question: Should researchers focus on the subjective experiences of city residents (satisfactions and perceptions of subjective aspects of city life) or on the more objective conditions of the cities themselves? Because it is far easier to measure a host of objective characteristics of cities, especially with the volumes of data available from local, state, and national agencies, than to bother with individual aspirations,

by Donald E. Strickland

expectations, preferences, needs, values, and reference frameworks, we are most frequently presented the "hard data." Such "facts" may be simply more available than meaningful.

Opting to measure characteristics of cities begs a variety of questions: How do we know the relative importance of say the number of hotel rooms per 1000 residents versus the number of hospital beds per 1000 residents in contributing to the quality of urban life? Indeed, how do we know either is important? Are there universal criteria for evaluating the quality of life common to a variety of specific population groups (e.g. women, blacks, singles, magazine editors, Chinese restaurateurs, intaglio artists)? Is the essence of a city simply a distillate of these objective characteristics? While not all studies of the quality of life in American cities suffer equally from these shortcomings (some have actually addressed these issues directly, if not resolved them) we should not lose sight of them when drawing conclusions about the "best" places to live.

Probably the most often assessed aspect of urban life in American cities is the economic. Clearly, this prominence is not misplaced; economic factors affect every area of community life. From cost of living surveys, which have shown that Chicagoans pay \$6.39 for a quart of scotch which costs residents of Bombay, India, \$16.82 (note, however, that a large tube of toothpaste costs less in Bombay) to reports indicating that senior citizens fare best in Baton Rouge, Louisiana (for midwesterners, Cincinnati is a close runner-up), economic rankings abound. A Bureau of Labor Statistics study shows St. Louis to be lowest among major cities in medical care costs and highest in transportation

costs. For more reasons than one, the moral would seem to be to get sick near a hospital. *U.S. News & World Report* features a semiannual accounting of "Cities Where Business is Best." In May 1978 most of the midwestern cities reported ranked lower than the national average on unemployment and higher on "income of the average factory worker." These high wages in Detroit may be of small consolation to the high proportion of unemployed, including some not so average factory workers, no doubt. *Senior Scholastic* magazine, reporting the results of a recent quality of life study by the prestigious Washington based Urban Institute, reiterated the income-poverty-unemployment imbalance in Detroit, while finding Chicago the most economically healthy midwestern metropolis.

Harper's 1975 "The Worst American City," modeled on H.L. Mencken's 1931 *American Mercury* study designed to identify the worst state, shows little that is noteworthy about the income and affluence levels of large midwestern cities, with one important exception: black/white median income ratio is relatively high in Detroit (.78) and Cleveland (.77) compared to less than .50 in several southern cities. Another comprehensive quality of life study (the "quality of life" Baedeker of American cities), with a strong economic component, is the 1975 Environmental Protection Agency sponsored project by the Midwest Research Institute of Kansas City. Reported ad nauseum in *Time*, *Newsweek*, *Changing Times*, *Intellect*, *Saturday Review*, etc., the economic component involved 18 separate measurements (weighted unequally) including per capita income, value added per worker in manufacturing, per capita bank deposits, unemployment rate, and number of Chamber of Commerce employees per 100,000 residents.

For metropolitan areas with a population larger than one half million (65 total), Cleveland ranked 4th, Indianapolis 5th, Chicago 8th, and Cincinnati 9th (Number 1? DALLA\$). On the other end of the scale, the lowest ranked metropolitan area in the midwest was the Gary-Hammond-East Chicago conurbation (44th), far ahead of number 65, Jersey City, N.J. For medium sized cities, between 200,000 and 500,000 population (83 total), Fort Wayne, South Bend, and Kalamazoo ranked 1, 2, 3, respectively; the lowest ranked medium-sized midwestern metropolis is the Duluth-Superior complex at 58th. Finally, in the smallest metropolitan area class,

below 200,000 population (95 total), Lincoln, Nebraska, Topeka, Kansas, and Decatur, Illinois were in the top 10 (2nd, 5th, and 7th, respectively) with Columbia, Missouri, and Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, rated the lowest of midwestern cities (68th and 69th). *Redbook's* July guide to American cities focused on cities of over one million population and rated them on the basis of eight characteristics of relevance to women, including two economic factors: jobs for women and income level. Not surprisingly, Washington, D.C. ranked first in these categories; Minneapolis, Cleveland, and Chicago rated a top 10 listing on each category. Kansas City and Detroit ranked last in the jobs for women category while having relatively high income levels.

Another rarely neglected dimension in the quality of life studies is the broad rubric of environment — including such areas as pollution, safety, amenities, and health. A recent study by the Council of Municipal Performance analyzed air quality data in 43 cities. The result: sunbelt cities are cleanest, north central and northeastern manufacturing cities are dirtiest! Chicago and Detroit were 40th and 42nd, with St. Louis and Cleveland 36th and 37th; the freshest midwestern city was number 9, Kansas City. *Today's Health* has reported the results of a study using the National Air Quality Index which uses measures of "particulate matter and noxious gases." Kansas City, Toledo, and Columbus, Ohio, were the "purest" midwestern cities: location ("on well-ventilated rolling plains") in Columbus, tough air-code regulations in Kansas City, and industry cooperation in Toledo are put forth as major reasons for their accomplishments.

Science Digest getting the ratings game gives us "America's Ten Healthiest Cities" based on a hodge-podge of health-related statistics: cancer mortality rates, automobile accidents, heart disease, longevity, water pollutant levels, and other factors. Somehow putting it all together we see that Hawaii (anywhere) beckons those who prize the healthiest environment; St. Cloud, Minnesota, is number 4 based largely on longevity and below average disease rates. As an aside, we are told that Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, Iowa, and Wisconsin rank just under Hawaii for longevity; Kansas also gets high marks for low infant mortality rates. Culled from other studies, St. Louis is singled out for exceptionally high levels of particulates and sulfur dioxide in the air,

higher than average infant mortality rates, high mortality due to influenza and pneumonia, and a high ratio of hospital beds per 10,000 residents. One wonders if hospital beds are a true reflection of the state of available health care in St. Louis! Some might doubt it.

Since the environment consists of man's contributions as well as nature's, we are heartened to see the Urban Institute's measures and ratings of "public order" (Milwaukee is tops), transportation (Chicago fares well), "community concern," (Cleveland is highest). *Redbook's* distaff report also rates Milwaukee tops in "personal safety;" Detroit gets low marks for personal safety and "concern for children." *Harpers'* tells us of "one of the great curses of city life... over-crowding." Oklahoma City is lowest in residents per square mile while Chicago is one of the worst places. This, of course, ignores the point that urban sprawl, transportation problems, and raggedly uneven development often attend spread-out cities or that this density measure is largely a function of where city boundaries are drawn. We also find that Cincinnati rates high in "public library volumes per 10,000 residents" and Indianapolis is one of the worst cities for "hotel and motel rooms per 100,000 residents" and "places of amusement and recreation per 100,000 residents." It is unclear whether the denizens of Indianapolis are suffering acute malaise or are giving thanks for these findings.

Holiday magazine, recognizing the calm neutrality and peripatetic existence of major league baseball sportscasters, uses "a penetrating survey" to get their opinions of favorite road cities. The results: Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, Boston, and Minneapolis head the list. Minneapolis receives plaudits for high marks in "city offering best movies, playhouses," "best shopping facilities," and "friendliest road city" categories. Other midwestern cities of note: Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit for "favorite road restaurants" (yes, they even name the restaurants!), Cincinnati and Chicago in the "movie-houses" division, Chicago for "best taxi service" and "best dressed people" (surely an important environmental component), and Kansas City for its hospitality as "a big city with a small town personality."

Similar to these celebrity opinion rankings are a potpourri of opinions on the urban condition from such sources as *Saturday Review's* "Most Livable Cities" which extols Minneapolis and Cincinnati; *U.S. News &*

World Report's vignettes on thriving energy "boom towns," including such centers of urbanity as Jay, Florida and Hanna, Wyoming; *Saturday Review's* "Cities on the Comeback Trail," which gives high marks to such heartland heartthrobs as Tulsa, Des Moines, Madison, Milwaukee, and Kansas City; *American Home's* "15 Wonderful Towns Where Families Know How to Live," which praises Harbor Springs, Michigan, for its Lake Michigan bluff setting and Winona, Minnesota, for its warm, family oriented atmosphere; and *Ebony's* "Ten Best Cities for Blacks" which bases its rankings on "opportunities for self-support, self-betterment, and self-empowerment" (three of *Ebony's* "Top Ten" are Chicago, Indianapolis, and Minneapolis).

Clearly one of the most popular categories on which to rank cities is its crime rate. The fallibility of official crime statistics is well-known; nevertheless, in the parlance of the criminal justice system, this seldom acts as a deterrent to budding city rankers. The standard litany of official crime statistics (often broken down by specific categories of offense — property crimes, crimes against persons, rapes, etc.) show some interesting midwestern differences: Milwaukee has the lowest rape and robbery rates of the 50 largest cities while St. Louis is high on rapes per 100,000 residents. Detroit's robbery rate per 100,000 residents is worse than all but Newark (*Harpers*). St. Paul, Minnesota and Omaha, Nebraska are low in murder and manslaughter rates while Detroit and Cleveland are among the worst (*Harpers*). *Redbook's* "personal safety" category used FBI crime statistics, with heavier emphasis on crimes against persons (New York's image remains intact, ranking last among the largest 30 cities).

A more controversial study in the early 1970s, *Safe Places* since reported in *Newsweek*, *Esquire* and elsewhere used official crime statistics and a touch of right-wing political and social bias to identify safe havens from crime, taxes, drugs, hippies (?), and "guerilla acts of sabotage and terrorism." Salmon, Idaho, is the most remote safe place in the book: isolated, bucolic, and deadly with nearly each household owning a gun. Belvedere, California, receives high marks for its safety from hippies and Camden, Maine, is safe from rock concerts. Of the larger cities (population over 50,000), the midwest's Lakewood, Ohio, receives top honors; Euclid, another Cleveland suburb is the 6th most safe place. Florissant, Missouri, a St. Louis suburban enclave

ranks 9th on the list. Detroit and Pontiac, Michigan, rank as two of the most crime-ridden cities in the country. It is unfortunate that the authors' research was conducted before the full blossoming of neighborhood vigilante patrols; the ranks of acceptable havens would surely have swelled.

Finally, both social and political factors have occupied the attention of many popular quality of life studies. Income levels, educational attainment, racial equality measures, property tax rates, expenditures on public services, family patterns, and population growth rates seem straightforward enough. But, we are told by the Midwest Research Institute study that local Sunday newspaper circulation indexes "informed citizenry" as does the number of radio stations per 1000 population. On the former measure Newark's citizenry is over 3 times as informed as are the citizens of neighboring New York and Nashville's score of 2.21 on the radio index shames Chicago's .45, clearly a reflection of different concentrations of informed and uninformed citizenry. Individual political activity is gauged by the proportion of voters voting in a recent presidential election. More efficient local governments are those able to secure the most funds from the federal government! Motorcycle registrations per 1000 residents is used to indicate "widening opportunity for individual choice;" some city residents could perhaps interpret this measure quite differently. Number of public swimming pools per 100,000 residents is

one of four measures indicating recreational facilities (camping sites, trails, and tennis courts are the others); one wonders if the residents of Honolulu and New Orleans (with one pool per 100,000 residents) are green with envy at the 99.8 score in Oklahoma City or the 86.8 pools per 100,000 residents in Dallas.

For the members of the community disinclined to mix fins with the common citizens in the public pools, a cultural institutions index is available: pity the frustrated blokes in Anaheim with no cultural institutions and wonder at the dizzying opportunities afforded their counterparts in Pittsburgh with a surfeit of 34! Midwesterners may be shocked to learn that Chicago's paltry 7 contrasts with Detroit's 23 institutions of culture. And so it goes when it comes to determining "everyman's quality of urban life" index; the only limitations seem to be the ready availability of data and the imagination of the researchers.

Having taken this rather selective guided tour through some of the fads and foibles of the city rating game in search of an American urban Elysium, and hoping it might be found close at home, where do we stand? In spite of the proliferation of silly ratings and rankings, the quality of urban life in America is a very serious subject. But particularistic, *ad hoc*, and pseudo-scientific ratings on the "quality of life" in American cities are often misleading and detrimental to understanding what the "quality of life" is really all about.

Since cities are not of a fabricated sameness but are accretions of "resource networks" built out of the social worlds in which their residents are specifically imbedded, so is the quality of urban life dependent on individual economic structures, family patterns, friendship networks, activity patterns, and so on. Cities are rarely experienced *in toto* by individuals. Rather, they are a mosaic of interpenetrating parts providing, alternately, opportunities for and constraints on desired behavior. It is this balance sheet of opportunities and constraints provided by the urban environment which gives meaning to the "quality of life" in American cities. And, it is in this sense that the "grand-daddy of all questions" is a far more complex and profound question than the city rating exercises acknowledge.



West Port Plaza, Kansas City

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coming into focus

The Gay National Educational Switchboard invites calls from parents, children, as well as psychologists, ministers, parole officers and others who have questions about gay women and men. A project of Human Rights Foundation, Inc., in San Francisco, the hotline offers resource information and its services are available from 2 p.m. to midnight seven days a week. The number is 800-227-0888.

It was a major breakthrough that a coalition of neighborhood organizations and housing associations in Kansas City got Community Federal Savings and Loan to sign a loan policy agreement. Specifying amounts to be available for home loans and improvements in an area being redlined, the agreement also calls for equality in treatment and consideration of loan applicants, broadening of criteria used to determine credit-worthiness and quarterly meetings between the branch manager and a council of neighborhood groups.

The Department of Energy's Economic Regulatory Administration announced a toll-free number to receive consumer complaints on gasoline and heating oil supplies and prices. The number, 800-424-9246, will be answered from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. (EST) Monday through Friday and will be monitored nights and weekends by a recording device.

The St. Louis Abused Women's Support Project, a not-for-profit, tax-exempt corporation, operates a shelter for abused women and their dependent children, and has given refuge to 300 of them since its beginning in 1977. St. Louis area women who are in need of emergency housing may contact the Support Project at 535-8425, which is staffed on a twenty-four-hour basis.

Project Transition is a Kansas City School District program for displaced homemakers, single heads of households, homemakers who work part-

time but need fulltime employment, and men and women who are interested in non-traditional careers. Other services include referring clients to medical, dental or daycare facilities, vocational counseling, consumer information and training in traditional career occupations.

Updated facts and consciousness are what's new in the 1978 World Book Encyclopedia. The "Negro" article has been retitled "Black Americans," the history of the proposed 27th Amendment is discussed in an article on the ERA, other titles include "No-Fault Insurance," "Organization of African Unity," "Transkei" and "Particle Physics."

The editors made a point of acknowledging the changing role of women by establishing policies and stylistic guidelines to avoid sexist language or assumptions, and have added 40 new biographies of outstanding women in all fields.

Music-loving readers will find new information in a totally revised "Rock Music" article and a new article on the "Suzuki Method."

The 22-volume edition is geared to different levels of reading capability and has more than 29,000 illustrations.

METRO/MICA, the Kansas City monthly newsletter of the metropolitan inter-church agency, reports that a series of practical workshops aimed at increasing the operating effectiveness of community neighborhood and public and private service organizations will be offered from March through May 1979. The course, entitled "Team Training for Community Action" is sponsored by the Center for Management Development and the School of Administration, UMKC.

An effort to stimulate community improvement in Flint, Michigan, has begun with the release of a survey commissioned by the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation. Called *The Flint Process: A Look at Our Community*, the survey explores, neighborhood by neighborhood, people's attitudes and behaviors. It is an extension of a nationwide Gallup Poll on urban attitudes taken early in 1978.

The Gallup Poll found that one-third of America's city dwellers would move to a small town or to the country if they could. *Report to the People*, a 28-page tabloid is available, free of charge, from the Mott Foundation Building, Flint 48502.

The results of *The Flint Process* are meant to be used by community groups as an agenda for discussion in attacking urban and neighborhood problems. To spur this next step, the foundation is sponsoring a series of discussion/action workshops. Each of the city's 37 elementary school areas—as well as five suburban areas—is featured in a separate booklet of detailed information gathered from survey responses. Copies of the survey materials are being made available to individual citizens and community groups on request.

The research team collected 3 million pieces of information in 45-minute interviews with nearly 7,000 people in the area between September 1977 and January 1978.

Although opposed by St. Louis Mayor James F. Conway and powerful downtown business interests, the most (some say only) independent, outspoken, and abrasive alderman, Bruce T. Sommer, won an overwhelming 3 to 1 victory in the February St. Louis primary.

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POEMS

LETTER TO MAY / David A. Sohn

You were polite, but angry.
After you autographed the tablecloth,
You did my cuff.
Next morning, I washed it out —
It's difficult with tiny bars of soap —
And wrote a poem of sorts.
I don't know why.

Then, we heard you read,
And wanted to send you roses.
We couldn't find even a yellow rose
In this two-gun Texas town.

At the airport, later,
You said, "So nice to see you again,"
Not meaning it.
And then, that you preferred dandelions
to the roses you never had.
"Daffodils?" I asked.
"Daffodils mean gelt," you said.
"Guilt?"
"Gelt."
"I thought you had a Texas twang."

Off we went on horizontal elevators,
Without goodbyes.
Why should there be goodbyes?

There was a turbulence, 36,000 feet.
The lady spilled a drink on him, the poet.
"You really know how to spill them," I said.
"Right on the Pulitzer prize."
She thought I was talking about a beer, I guess.
Pulitzer said if we stepped outside,
We'd turn to crystals in a flash.
Also, that villanelles won't do.
"Poets must go through the moil
of modern consciousness."

On earth, the night was clear,
But car-thick, stop and start.
What was it disturbed me?
Crazy ten-gallon week?
The whine of parkway wheels?
Leaning back, I stared long
At the moon
And thought of you and ingenuity.

How to rage in quiet ways,
Like when you wrote your name —
A flourished flurry,
Hancock on the cuff —
Beautiful!
Performance as defiance.
You must have hated
Mondo Poeti stalls,
Gawkers lionizing
Poets in the Poet Zoo.

I just remembered what I want to say.
You did a lot for poetry those days.
Live poets aren't around much,
Particularly in Houston, Texas,
Or up in an airplane, flying high.
"Presence can educate," Frost once observed.
He did some good work riding on trains.

Sometimes you're teaching when you least suspect it.
You made me catch a poem, good or bad,
Like you catch a cold.
Just because you were around,
I have to thank you for it.

If I had some dandelions,
I'd send you at least a bushel.
Mencken didn't trust them:
"Dogs always piss on them.
And now and then, a policeman."

I tasted their wine once.
Delicate, like saki.
Delicious, their greens —
Soul food.
So your poems.

POEMS

SOME ARE FLIGHT SUMMER FANCY / *Wladyslaw Cieszynski*

the pilot turns smiling
toward the turbulence of a stewardess with bottle hips
a movie passes out martinis
and genitals with its paws

below it all
the city belches an ozone blanket for the night

somewhere a cigar is asking
directions to the nearest mouth
the monk gestures with his wallet and explodes
while sixteen girl scouts
rape a young mugger in Central Park

summer has begun

the sidewalk is pregnant with bubblegum
and hotdogs stroll the boardwalk
in the swelter
Melba stitches a rutabaga to her underwear
and goes for a walk in the sewers
will she meet Bongo the Tongue
she wonders
or will something exciting and terrible happen

Italian laundromats organize an outing
to the Drive-in Movie

PHANTOM OF THE VATICAN MEETS PIZZA FROM THE BLACK LAGOON
rubs its back against the screen

a cup of asphalt is steaming toward the harbor
fourteen blackbirds all in a row sing the blues
while Opera runs off with Nashville under her arm

summertime
thump the thump the thump
baseball is winning my heart
head over heels i am
with a grandstand of rodents laughing in my glands
everyone's happy
and the temperature is taking a bow.

thinking / *Doreen Fitzgerald*

you told me not to think
i practiced for two days

my body turned dog
chased the mailman up a tree
narrowly missed
a Chevy with D.C. plates

Mrs. Murphy came out
cried mad dog in the street
call the dog catcher
the state police

i'm sitting on the front porch
wondering if they'll shoot

I WANT TO TAKE YOU / *Wladyslaw Cieszynski*

the air of the attic
is old
is dull around you
the white dress
holds up your soft hair

before the window
the trunks yawn open
spilling ribbons
and photographs
of brown lakes and beards

your smile is distant
i want to take you
there
by the leather chest

but over my shoulder
is tommorrow
a museum guard
hovering
protective.

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congressional attendance

Congress set an all-time record for the number of votes taken in 1978, but as is traditional in election years, attendance at these votes fell off.

Voting participation is the closest approach to an attendance record for Congress, but it is only an approximation.

SENATE

1. Voting Participation, 1978. Percentage of 516 roll calls in 1978 on which senator voted "yea" or "nay."

2. Voting Participation, 95th Congress. Percentage of 1,151 roll calls in 1977 and 1978 on which senator voted "yea" or "nay."

	1	2
ILLINOIS		
Stevenson	91	89
Percy	84	84
MISSOURI		
Eagleton	89	91
Danforth	96	97

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1. Voting Participation, 1978. Percentage of 834 recorded votes in 1978 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay."

2. Voting Participation, 95th Congress. Percentage of 1,540 recorded votes in 1977 and 1978 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay."

MISSOURI

	1	2
1 Clay	83	80*
2 Young	95	94
3 Gephardt	95	96
4 Skelton	90	92*
5 Bolling	80	76
6 Coleman	96	96*
7 Taylor	96	96
8 Ichord	93	92
9 Volkmer	99	98*
10 Burlison	97	97

ILLINOIS

	1	2
1 Metcalfe ¹	78†	75*
2 Murphy	88	89*
3 Russo	90	89
4 Derwinski	98	97

5 Fary	89	92
6 Hyde**	95	95
7 Collins	73	77
8 Rostenkowski	82	83
9 Yates	98	97
10 Mikva	81	84
11 Annunzio	95	95
12 Crane	72	80
13 McClory	93	92
14 Erlenborn	89	90
15 Corcoran**	95	96
16 Anderson	71	77
17 O'Brien	88†	91*
18 Michel**	90	88
19 Railsback	90	85
20 Findley	93	94
21 Madigan	89	90
22 Shipley	41	60
23 Price	98	88
24 Simon	84	90

KEY

Democrat Republican

1. Rep. Ralph H. Metcalfe (D Ill.) died Oct. 10, 1978.

† Not eligible for all recorded votes in 1978.

* Not eligible for all recorded votes in 95th Congress.

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